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THE LESSONS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

THE experiences and lessons of the campaign just closed, probably the most important in the history of our Republic, have taught us much. Taken with those of four years ago the politicians of our country should know much that will prove useful and which should be applied to future campaigns. In 1896 we entered upon a campaign the paramount issues of which were accepted by all to be (1) the proposition to coin free, and to an unlimited extent, the silver of the entire world at the ratio of 16 to 1; and (2) opposition to what was termed "government by injunction," *i. e.*, the introduction of Federal force where local authorities were unable to quell disturbances which interfered with inter-State commerce or destroyed Federal property.

Voters at the outset of the campaign were unfamiliar with the real meaning of these two issues, and it required much explanation to make them thoroughly understood. When finally the two great issues were thoroughly understood, it was easy work to defeat the Bryanite ticket. It was, therefore, a great surprise to those who knew the inside work of the two great National Committees of 1896 that the Bryanites should have had the hardihood to reaffirm the two great old issues as a part of the issues of the campaign just closed. Yet, they attempted in their platform at Kansas City to cover up the real issues, even after Mr. Bryan had demanded that 16 to 1 should be permanently incorporated in the new code of declarations. Like the ostrich who believes himself to be entirely hidden when he simply

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has his head covered, the framers of the platform at Kansas City believed they could conceal their designs by declaring that "anti-imperialism," an issue inconceivable, was paramount.

As a literary feat the Kansas City platform may be pronounced almost perfect, and its writer should be congratulated upon a magnificent accomplishment. It was not what it said so much as what it did not declare, and the beautiful manner in which this was all done made the platform one of which any man might be proud. But when the Chicago platform of 1896 was reaffirmed the platform of Kansas City was nil. It required but the half of an eye of an intelligent, well-informed voter to see that the Kansas City platform was but a cloak to cover the horrid skeletons of 1896. The translucency of the Kansas City platform itself, when taken in connection with the act of reaffirming the Chicago platform, was notice to all intelligent men that the campaign upon which we were entering was to be a campaign of misrepresentation. The Kansas City platform was to be used in one section of the country — in the East for instance — as the charter and only declaration of principles of the Bryanite party; while the Chicago platform, reaffirmed and kept as a single and separate document, was to be used in certain large cities in the Central States and in the Far West and Northwest, where the other document was not to be mentioned.

In other words, the evident design of the men who controlled the Kansas City convention was to play fast and loose with their followers as a body, leading them under one banner in one section of the country and under another banner in the other section. As soon as it was learned that in the East Mr. Bryan refused to say whether he would discharge Government obligations in silver or in gold, that, in fact, he remained silent as to free silver and government by injunction, while in the West he hinted that it was his intention to pay Federal obligations in silver, and talked vehemently on government by injunction, then the ulterior design of the Kansas City transaction became plain to all.

When the Republican National Committee opened headquarters in Chicago, the work of education upon the real issues began with so-called imperialism. It was only necessary to point out the fact that Democrats in Congress voted almost unanimously in favor of the war with Spain, and that Democratic and Bryanite newspapers had for some time prior been denouncing President McKinley because he was unwilling openly to declare in favor of war. When the Paris treaty

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was before the Senate, Mr. Bryan himself shed the uniform of a volunteer colonel and went to Washington to urge his friends to vote for the ratification of the treaty; thereby becoming directly responsible individually and as a party man for the situation in which we find ourselves with regard to the Philippines. This made it clear that if such a thing as imperialism were possible in this country, as a result of the retention of the Philippines, Mr. Bryan and his followers were as much responsible for it as President McKinley or any of his political associates, if not more so.

Mr. Bryan soon learned that he was making an egregious error in his work of forcing imperialism to the front. He made feeble efforts to reply to statements to the effect that he himself and his party were fully as responsible as the Republicans for the acquirement of the Philippine Islands; but all his answers were greeted with indignation, even by his own people. It was easy to demonstrate that under a republican form of government like ours, under any republic, in fact, imperialism such as Mr. Bryan would have made voters believe was the aim of President McKinley and his party to foster was a palpable impossibility; and that even if it had been possible, under any circumstances, it would have to be voted for by the people in the selection of a Congress, which alone could make the declaration.

Then Mr. Bryan and his managers were greatly embarrassed when confronted with the fact that their arguments against the "consent of the governed" would of necessity remind the people of the condition of suffrage existing in certain Southern States, where Democratic Congressmen have been elected for many years with but a few thousand votes, due to the open suppression of the negro vote — and where, too, since the foundation of our country almost, the black men and those who have not been willing to wear the collar of the master of men have been governed without their consent, and have been deprived of the franchise which the white man has always been given and which the black man secured as a result of the war of 1861. Added to this, Senator Tillman's prominent part in the formation of the Kansas City platform and his report to the Convention lent emphasis to the statements of the Republicans that more voters were governed without their consent in our own Southern States than were affected by the Philippine situation. The men whose votes have been for so long suppressed in the South, and who have been governed without their consent, have been, and are all, civilized men, clearly entitled under the Constitution and the law to all the privileges of

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franchise; whereas none of the inhabitants of the Philippines, in whose behalf anti-imperialism and the consent-of-the-governed issue were exploited, has ever known what it is to have the right of franchise, or has ever had any voice whatever in the conduct of any sort of government.

In no section of the country did Mr. Bryan especially urge the 16 to 1 proposition, although in what are known as the original silver States he did reavow his adherence to the principle and declare himself to be firmly in favor of coining free of cost all the silver of the entire world, and of placing behind the coins the credit of the United States Government; thus lending, without any return whatsoever, the credit of the United States to bankrupt and pauper countries. The people, however, even in the silver States, had largely learned to know that the United States Government could no more maintain parity of value between silver coined in unlimited quantities and a currency based upon actual credit than it could run water up-hill. They had learned full well four years before that the Government is in this respect exactly like an individual, who may be worth and good for, say, one hundred thousand dollars, which may be set down as his limit of credit. He could issue notes which would pass current and at par up to the limit of that credit; but all notes issued in excess of that established credit would be worth less than their face value in the same ratio as the excess of the issue; so that as rapidly as the United States Government became responsible for silver coined — owned either by itself or foreigners — in excess of its present established credit, discount and repudiation would begin, and but a few months would be necessary completely to destroy the finest financial credit ever possessed by a people.

Militarism was another issue brought into the situation, and it was another unfortunate stroke of the Bryan management. It was only necessary to state that our army, including regulars and volunteers, is now the smallest per capita of any civilized nation in the world — that it stands only as about one soldier to every thousand citizens — and that militarism, as Mr. Bryan would explain it, was an impossibility, that if it should be possible at any time in the future it would come as a result of the direct vote and expression of the people. The efforts to make laboring men believe that the Republican party intended to build forts around great cities for the purpose of turning guns and soldiers upon wage-earners who stood up for their rights was an insult to the intelligence of workingmen, and they resented

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it with vehemence. In the same connection men on the hustings referred to our military expenditures; attempting to make workingmen believe that these expenditures far exceeded anything known in the history of modern governments, and that the money was wrung from the men whose capital was their hands and their brains. It was shown as quickly as the mouth could speak or the press could print that even during the height of the war with Spain our military and naval expenditures were far less than the regular military and naval expenditures of most civilized countries; that the extraordinary expenditures would be continued only until the end of the troubles in the Philippines; and that within eight months, by virtue of the expiration of statutory authority, the volunteer army would be disbanded.

In their work of arraying class against class and of exciting prejudice, the Bryanite managers, apparently determined to run the gauntlet of all experiments, made strenuous efforts to array against us our Irish-American citizens, on the ground that President McKinley's administration and the Republican party in general had been pro-English, and that they had been opposed to the Boers in their war against England. Then they attempted to array all Catholics against the Republican cause by the specious argument that church property had been confiscated or destroyed in the Philippines, and that the Catholic Church would fare worse under a Republican form of government and a liberal Republican President and administration than it fared under a monarchical and despotic government which was worse than bankrupt and which had been constantly at war with all great church countries. The same effort was made to reach the Germans and the German Catholics.

But, as if to tramp upon their own heels in an effort to walk backward while they were proceeding forward in the identical work, Bryanite managers were at the same moment handling the A. P. A. organization, which was instituted to destroy Catholic interests in this country, in politics at least. This organization circulated millions of documents containing statements to the effect that President McKinley was controlled by Archbishop Ireland and other eminent Catholics, and that he had consulted the Pope in Rome at every step of his progress in the Philippines. It required but a short time for the Catholics, and for the Germans who are Lutherans and belong to other Protestant churches, to understand that they were being misled, that every effort was being made by unscrupulous politicians to play upon their prejudices and their religion. Quick as lightning these people,

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who are good citizens and honest in their intentions, arose and resented these efforts. The Bryanites soon learned also that their tirade against "government by injunction" was simply a pleading in favor of that principle of destruction always advocated by men and parties who never build up, but are always in favor of tearing down, institutions and industries.

Then the opposition to the Republican ticket began a policy of shiftiness, a season of flying from pillar to post in search of new arguments. And here begin the impressive lessons growing out of the campaign just ended. The first and greatest lesson is in favor of frankness and fairness. No party can expect to win upon any other course. The next lesson is that the party must have a definite policy, a charter of principles well-defined and fairly laid upon actual history, and not dependent upon the simple prophecy, conception, or unfounded utterance of an individual. This latter effort made the road of Mr. Bryan a very hard one to travel, in view of the fact that he had attempted so many prophecies four years ago, none of which had been fulfilled, while, on the other hand, the Republicans had made open and specific assertions in their platform, which were promises and not prophesies, promises based upon the operation of similar platform principles, every single one of which had been fulfilled.

The campaign progressed in such a manner as to cause the Republican management everywhere considerable concern until the early part of September. At this juncture the opposition began to disintegrate. It had lashed itself into fury, and it now began to beat out its life upon the shoals. Republicans had been rather dormant and apathetic, and the slowness of State and county organizations everywhere contributed largely to this condition on their side. But those in national control were confident that Mr. Bryan and his followers would make their pretences so ridiculous that they would go to pieces as soon as the Republican organization should everywhere begin to reach perfection and activity. During the latter part of September the tide ran strongly toward the Republican cause. As it grew in volume the Bryanites became more and more desperate. Anti-imperialism now became only a fleck upon the window-pane through which Mugwumps and carping grannies looked out upon the field. Free silver had ceased to make votes in the West, and was adding furore to the opposition in the East. It solidified all business elements. President McKinley's magnificent administration began to stand out in greater grandeur after it had been charged and charged by the op-

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position. The assaults seemed simply to make the citadel of Republicanism less pregnable.

The opposition to the Republican campaign now began the work it so vigorously prosecuted in the last month of the campaign of 1896 — that of creating unthought-of issues in the form of wild rumors and assertions. Statements began to issue to the effect that the Republicans were obtaining money from gigantic monopolies and corporations for the purpose of buying the voters of the country, that arrangements were being made for the purpose of perpetrating the most outrageous character of fraud at the polls, etc., etc. These statements were taken up by State committees with considerable exaggeration, and when they reached for reiteration the county and city committees they were most lurid in form. I remember one circular letter issued by the chairman or secretary of a hopelessly Democratic State in the West, which stated that Mark Hanna had raised a corruption fund of many millions of dollars — probably ten times greater than the aggregate ever raised in any campaign — for the purpose of buying the Democratic voters of that State. After a lot of assertions as to impossible designs upon the part of the McKinley managers, the writer closed by saying that the Democratic voters of his State were unpurchasable, and were not to be bribed. By the middle of October so many canards had been circulated that, as four years before, the authors were discredited among their own people; and it became unnecessary for the Republican managers at National Committee headquarters to meet the condition. This work had proved so disastrous to the Bryan cause in 1896 that it would seem as if those who had conducted it then would never have resumed it. I desire to exculpate from this responsibility Chairman Jones and his Chicago committee associates.

The resumption of this unfortunate character of work, its conspicuity as a part and parcel of the management of the opposition, together with the false prophecies of Mr. Bryan in 1896, brought out in beautiful relief and with great emphasis the very opposite history upon the Republican side. After the campaign of 1896, the Republicans, under the direction of President McKinley, immediately went to work — beginning with an extraordinary session of Congress — to make good every plank in the St. Louis platform; and this work did not stop until Congress adjourned last spring with everything done that could be accomplished in the direction of fulfilment of promises, direct or implied, made by the Republicans in the formation of their

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platform and in the conduct of their campaign. Added to this was perhaps the greatest era of prosperity ever experienced by any country. This latter condition was a source of much embarrassment to Mr. Bryan and his managers, who tried to ridicule the idea of a full dinner pail, or of more work at better prices.

When Mr. Hanna, the plain business man of Ohio, who was chosen Chairman of the Republican National Committee at the close of the St. Louis Convention, declared that the management of a national political campaign was but a business matter, and that, being only a business man, he would set about his work as such, there was an effort made to ridicule his position and his utterances. The manner in which he had conducted the campaign of 1896 and had closed up the affairs of the headquarters of the National Committee — having cut his garment to suit the cloth so accurately as to enable him to pay every debt and discharge every obligation within a few days after the election, an accomplishment perhaps never before achieved by any national chairman — elicited the encomiums of all good citizens and prominent men within his own party, as well as the admiration of all thinking men in the opposition party. From top to bottom Chairman Hanna had instituted methods of conducting a campaign never before adopted, and he had contributed by this system and his individuality toward the success of four years ago. He set up against the fast and loose system of the opposition a policy such as a wise, successful, and honorable business man would establish for the conduct of a great commercial institution. These methods also contributed much to the success of the campaign just closed.

Taken all in all, the campaign of 1900 was devoid of sensations and unexpected developments. The campaign upon both sides was conspicuous by the absence of popular excitement. Owing to the confidence of the people in a continuance of existing conditions, it involved practically no disturbance of general business. At the wind-up of the campaign, for a period of ten days or two weeks, great interest was manifested; but this was not fraught with any acrimony or unusual agitation. The arousing of those who intended to vote for McKinley and Roosevelt from the dangerous condition of coma to the full realization of possible defeat would have resulted, under ordinary circumstances, in considerable individual feeling and some violent expressions; but, throughout the country, from one end to the other, there was less disturbance than has accompanied any campaign within a quarter of a century.

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At the close of the great national political struggle of 1900 the voters of our country found themselves better equipped for the exercise of their right at the polls than ever before. They had kept fairly good pace with the events transpiring at Washington during the last four years, and the education growing out of the campaign of 1896 had placed them in a high rank of political intelligence. It was, therefore, bold and venturesome to attempt to lead them astray by any form of misrepresentation. These men now realize more firmly than ever the necessity of keeping even closer trace of the legislative and political work of all parties, in order that they may act intelligently and for their best interests. Politics forms an important feature of the daily press of our country, and is an attractive part of the magazines and of our general literature. Politics, commerce, and industry go hand in hand. The effort of Mr. Bryan and his managers to make of our expansion of territory, among other things, a simple proposition of commercialism, when they should have realized that nearly all of our people favor expansion of markets and expansion of territory when they come in the manner in which the Philippines, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico were received, was a political error. I do not believe that there will ever be again any persistent appeal to the sordid traits of character, any attempt to array employé against employer, class against class, one religious creed against another, as the lessons of this campaign have taught that all who make this effort must perish in overwhelming defeat.

The interests of the employer and employé are identical: without the success of one the success of the other is impossible; with the success of the one success must come to the other, whether or not in just proportion I do not undertake to say. I must, however, express the hope that the employers of the country will take into more serious consideration the employés, who at the recent election voted to give prosperity to all, in the face of the strenuous effort of the opposition, who would have had them believe that the prosperity of the employer meant the coercion of the employé, and that the only recourse of the latter was to destroy the former. The workingmen of our country have again resented the talk of demagogues about coercion, and have voted for a continuance of an administration that has given employers great prosperity, in which they themselves have participated. They have voted for the flag wherever it floats, and I hope and believe that they will have their full share of the benefits.

PERRY S. HEATH.

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THE WORK OF THE RECIPROCITY COMMISSION.

It is now over three years since President McKinley took the first step toward carrying out those provisions of the Dingley Tariff Act, approved July 24, 1897, relating to Conventions of Commercial Reciprocity. The initial step was taken when he appointed Hon. John A. Kasson, of Iowa, a Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary to represent him in negotiations with foreign governments. The results of the indefatigable labors of Commissioner Kasson consist, at this writing, of four agreements under section 3 of the Tariff Act — agreements of limited scope, not needing ratification by the Senate, which have become operative by proclamation of the President — and of twelve treaties under section 4, of which seven are pending in the Senate, while five[1] will be submitted to that body at its approaching session for its advice and consent to ratification. No vote on any of those sent in at the last session was reached, although the treaty with France was favorably reported to the Senate by the Committee on Foreign Relations; the others are still awaiting the report of that committee.

This is the largest number of commercial treaties ever negotiated by one officer on the part of the United States. Secretary Blaine, with the aid of Gen. John W. Foster, concluded in 1891–92 a dozen reciprocal agreements, under the provisions of section 3 of the McKinley Tariff Act, which went into effect by Presidential proclamation. But not one of those agreements involved so much difficulty in negotiation as each and every one of the sixteen conventions negotiated by Mr. Kasson.

Mr. Blaine's commercial arrangements[2] were very satisfactory, but his task was made easy by auspicious circumstances. His doctrine of a Pan-American Zollverein, to be based on a system of reciprocal treaties of commerce, was enthusiastically received by the governments of the various countries of South and Central America, and they fairly tumbled over each other in their zeal to take advan-

[1] As will be seen on p. 407, this number may be reduced to four.
[2] See The Forum for August, 1898.

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tage of the reciprocity features of the McKinley law. In their negotiations to this end they displayed, as a rule, a generous spirit. The concessions they could obtain from the United States were defined in the tariff act and were the same to all. They gave whatever was asked, usually without haggling or hesitancy. So fast as other affairs of state permitted agreements were arranged by exchange of notes and went into effect on proclamation. The commerce of the United States grew by leaps and bounds, and both contracting parties to the respective conventions were pleased with their bargain.

Unfortunately, the Wilson Tariff Act repudiated and repealed these arrangements without the slightest notice to the interested governments, and, in consequence, the United States stood discredited in the eyes of the contracting nations. Then came the passage of the Dingley Tariff Act, which aroused a feeling of exasperation and resentment throughout the commercial world, because of its high protective duties — in many instances made especially high, in order to permit of reciprocal concessions under section 4 and still leave ample protection. The result was that when Mr. Kasson undertook his labors, in October, 1897, he found hostile tariffs and unjust discriminations confronting him in new quarters, and everywhere a noticeable indisposition to negotiate.

The situation in Europe was even worse than on this hemisphere. One great nation had a maximum and a minimum tariff, applying the former to the United States, while all the principal countries of Europe enjoyed the latter by virtue of special treaties. Another equally important nation, under the guise of sanitary measures, had imposed prohibitive regulations on certain of our food products. In still other countries serious embarrassments of one kind and another to American commerce existed, and the complaints of our exporters were loud and numerous. This has been changed only in part; but it is a fact that the ratification of the twelve treaties which will soon be begging for life before the Senate would go a long way toward the removal of existing causes of complaint and the expansion of the foreign commerce of the United States. On the other hand, it is equally true that the rejection of these treaties would practically mean the abandonment of the grand principle of reciprocity, which the Republican national platform of 1896 declared to be, with protection, "a twin measure of Republican policy," and which was incorporated in the Dingley Tariff Act in fulfilment of the party's pledge to the people.

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I. COMMERCIAL AGREEMENTS UNDER SECTION 3, TARIFF ACT OF 1897.

Section 3 of the United States Tariff Act empowers the President to enter into negotiations with any country which exports to the United States any of certain enumerated articles, and, in return for reciprocal and equivalent concessions, to suspend by proclamation the existing duties on the said products imported from the country in question, which shall thereafter be admitted on payment of specified reduced duties. These articles, with the general and concessional rates applicable to them, are as follows:

ENUMERATED ARTICLES.	GENERAL RATE.	CONCESSIONAL RATE.
Argols, or crude tartar or wine lees, crude	1 to 1½ cent per pound.	5 per cent ad valorem.
Brandies, or other spirits manufactured or distilled from grain or other materials	$2.25 per proof gallon.	$1.75 per proof gallon.
Champagne and all other sparkling wines, in bottles, containing each not more than 1 quart and more than 1 pint	$8 per dozen.	$6 per dozen.
Each not more than 1 pint and more than ½ pint	$4 per dozen.	$3 per dozen.
Each ½ pint or less	$2 per dozen.	$1.50 per dozen.
In bottles or other vessels containing more than 1 quart each	$8 per dozen, plus $2.50 per gallon on quantities in excess of 1 quart.	$6 per dozen, plus $1.90 per gallon on quantities in excess of 1 quart.
Still wines, and vermuth:		
In casks	40 to 50 cents per gallon.	35 cents per gallon.
In bottles or jugs, case of 1 dozen bottles or jugs, containing each not more than 1 quart and more than 1 pint, or 24 bottles or jugs containing each not more than 1 pint	$1.60 per case.	$1.25 per case.
Any excess beyond these quantities found in such bottles or jugs	5 cents per pint or fractional part thereof.	4 cents per pint or fractional part thereof.
Paintings in oil or water colors, pastels, pen and ink drawings, and statuary	20 per cent ad valorem.	15 per cent ad valorem.

Under this section commercial agreements have been concluded with a number of countries, which will be individually considered.

The French Reciprocal Agreement was signed by United States Commissioner Kasson and Ambassador Cambon on May 28, 1898. It was proclaimed by the President of the United States on May 30, and

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went into effect on June 1, 1898. By its terms France obtains all the concessions provided in section 3, except the reductions contemplated on champagne and other sparkling wines, which, by reason of their great importance, were strenuously demanded by the French, but declined on the part of the United States, because champagne is an article of luxury, the import of which is not affected by existing duties. Another significant feature introduced by the American negotiator is the provision that the concession on still wines and vermuth may be withdrawn from France, in the discretion of the President of the United States, whenever additional duties beyond those now existing, and which may be deemed by him unjust to the commerce of the United States, shall be imposed by France on our products. In compensation, the United States secures from France her minimum tariff, not exceeding certain rates specified in the agreement, on canned meats, fresh table fruits, dried or pressed fruits (excluding raisins), logs, timber and lumber, paving blocks, staves, hops; manufactured and prepared pork meats; lard and its compounds.

The way in which this agreement has operated, during a period of nearly two years, is shown by the statistical tables, prepared from official sources at the Treasury Department, given on pages 398 and 399.

Examination of the statistics in the tables shows that United States exports to France of concessional articles increased 74 per cent in value, while the imports into the United States of French merchandise affected by the agreement increased less than 5 per cent in value. Another remarkable fact is that there has been no increase of imports of French brandy and still wines, as had been feared by our producers. Now, can it be justly denied that the United States has made the better bargain, or that our commercial interests in France have been greatly benefited by this agreement?

The agreement with Portugal was concluded May 22, 1899, by Mr. Kasson and the Viscount de Santo-Thyrso, Portuguese Minister at Washington. It was ratified by the Cortes of Portugal, and put into effect by proclamation on June 12, 1900. The delay in its going into operation was partly due to the necessity of correcting a clerical error in the signed copies. Its term is five years from the date of proclamation. Under this arrangement Portugal receives the same concessions as those granted to France excepting on vermuth, and, in addition, the reduced rates on sparkling wines. Inasmuch, however, as Portugal is not a producer of the latter, their inclusion has no signifi-

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cance. Reciprocally, Portugal guarantees that the lowest rates which shall be granted to any other country (Spain and Brazil excepted) shall be enjoyed, on their importation into Portugal and the Azores and Madeira Islands, by the following important products of the soil and industry of the United States, viz.: flour of cereals (except wheat), maize and wheat in the grain, lard and grease, mineral oils and certain important products thereof; reaping, mowing, and threshing machines; machines for compressing hay and straw; steam-

I.

Benefits to United States: Table of exports from United States to France of merchandise enjoying concessional rates of duty, under Commercial Agreement in effect June 1, 1898, during the twenty-two months ending March 31, 1898, and March 31, 1900, respectively:

ARTICLES.	22 MONTHS ENDING MARCH 31, 1898.		22 MONTHS ENDING MARCH 31, 1900.	
	QUANTITIES.	VALUE.	QUANTITIES.	VALUE.
Apples, dried.....pounds	3,331,620	$159,859	5,091,331	$216,374
Apples, green or ripe.....barrels	1,070	5,352	1,620	9,718
All other fruits (except raisins).....	.....	498,318	.....	997,733
Fruits preserved, canned.....	.....	7,629	.....	19,077
" " other.....	.....	3,714	.....	1,388
Beef, canned.....pounds	1,568,510	129,638	1,438,522	139,298
Bacon.....pounds	3,763,866	253,664	23,522,004	1,587,136
Hams.....pounds	1,284,531	126,339	2,211.868	209,849
Lard.....pounds	40,117,019	2,022,041	58,858,130	3,382,838
Lard compounds.....pounds	5,813,704	280,536	1,912,370	101,548
Timber, sawed.....M feet	34,693	327,482	45,863	442,237
" hewn.....cubic feet	415,105	51,876	608,055	75,801
Logs and other timber.....	.....	108,453	.....	201,660
Boards, deals and planks.....M feet	40,121	551,526	50,377	775,618
Joists and scantling.....M feet	187	2,718	.....	.....
Staves and headings.....	.....	608,339	.....	797,354
Total.....	.....	$5,137,484	.....	$8,957,629

plows, separate parts of these machines, and plow-shares; instruments, implements, and tools for the arts, manufactures, agriculture, and gardening. On most of these articles low rates are specified which shall not be exceeded. The guaranty of the minimum rates on United States petroleum is especially important, in view of the fact that Portugal had previously granted them, in a special arrangement, to Russian oils, thus giving the latter a decided advantage.

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II.

Benefits to France: Table of imports into United States from France of merchandise enjoying concessional rates of duty, under Commercial Agreement in effect June 1, 1898, during the twenty-two months ending March 31, 1898, and March 31, 1900, respectively.

ARTICLES.	22 MONTHS ENDING MARCH 31, 1898.			22 MONTHS ENDING MARCH 31, 1900.		
	QUANTITIES.	VALUES.	DUTY.	QUANTITIES.	VALUES.	DUTY.
Art Works { Free	.....	$2,795,609	.....	.....	.....	.....
Art Works { Dutiable	.....	525,328	105,065.60	.....	$2,647,802	$397,170.30
Argal or crude tartar, free, lbs	7,161,651	635,469	.....	.....	.....	.....
Argols or wine lees—dut., lbs	3,315,385	289,165	49,730.77	22,348,706	1,891,313	94,565.65
Spirits distilled:						
Brandy—proof, galls., dut	406,014	1,122,790	771,311.70	351,028	1,041,011	614,299.00
Other—proof, galls., dut	126,476	353,524	221,951.95	167,068	409,757	292,369.00
Still wines and vermuth:						
In casks—galls., dut	806,070	473,339	276,646.20	726,823	430,490	254,388.05
In other coverings—doz., qts., dut	179,264	1,024,231	286,822.40	207,904	1,112,805	259,880.00
Total	.....	$7,219,455	$1,711,528.62	.....	$7,533,178	$1,912,672.00

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The agreement with Italy was signed on February 8, 1900, by Mr. Kasson and Baron Fava, Italian Ambassador at Washington. It was ratified by the parliament of Italy, and proclaimed and put into effect on July 18, 1900. It is terminable by either party at the end of the year 1903, if denounced one year in advance. The United States grants to Italy the identical concessions given to France under section 3, and, reciprocally, Italy guarantees that the duties on the following products of the United States shall not exceed certain specified rates: Cotton-seed oil, pickled or preserved fish (certain exceptions), agricultural machinery and detached parts, scientific instruments, dynamo-electrical machines and detached parts, sewing machines, and varnishes. On some of these articles the Italian duties were reduced, and on others the continuance of the previous minimum rates was guaranteed. The United States also secures the free entry of turpentine oil, natural fertilizers of all kinds, crude, fresh, or dried skins, not suitable for furs, and fur skins.

The agreement with Germany, prepared by the Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary, was signed by Secretary Hay and Herr von Holleben, German Ambassador at Washington, on July 10, 1900, and put into effect by proclamation on July 13. It is terminable by either party on three months' notice. The concessions secured thereunder by Germany are identical with those granted to France and Italy. Reciprocally, Germany guarantees to the products of the United States, on their entry into Germany, the tariff rates which have been conceded by the commercial treaties concluded during the years 1891–1894 between Germany, on the one part, and Belgium, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Roumania, Russia, Switzerland, and Servia, on the other part. The treaties referred to cover a large list of articles imported into Germany from the United States; and, consequently, so long as the agreement shall remain in force our commercial interests in that country will be on a most favored nation basis. As a further compensation Germany agreed to annul the regulations providing that the dried or evaporated fruits imported from the United States be inspected on account of the San José scale. When the agreement became operative this pledge was promptly fulfilled, much to the relief of the California fruit growers and of other United States exporters of the products in question. The conclusion of this agreement is not only beneficial to American commerce, but it has tended to soothe, if not to remove altogether, certain causes of international irritation.

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II. COMMERCIAL CONVENTIONS CONCLUDED UNDER SECTION 4, TARIFF ACT OF 1897.

Section 4 of the Tariff Act authorizes the President to negotiate treaties of reciprocity which may provide, during a specified period not exceeding five years, for (1) reduction of the existing duties to the extent of not more than 20 per cent on any article imported from any foreign country; or (2) transfer from the dutiable to the free list of any natural products of any foreign country which are not natural products of the United States; or (3) retention on the free list of any articles already there.

Under the extensive provisions of this section, the Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary, on behalf of the President, has negotiated and concluded the following important conventions. The treaty term in each is five years, except in two instances where it is four years. The original period for the exchange of ratifications having expired in the case of France, Barbados, British Guiana, Turks and Caicos Islands, Jamaica, Bermuda, Argentine Republic, and Nicaragua, supplementary conventions have been signed, extending it in each instance. It has also expired in the case of Trinidad, but has not yet been extended, which may prevent the original convention from being submitted to the Senate.

The Franco-American Treaty under section 4 was signed by Mr. Kasson and Ambassador Cambon, the plenipotentiaries of their respective governments, on July 24, 1899. It is by far the most important commercial treaty negotiated in the modern history of the country. The negotiations which culminated in its signature were initiated in the autumn of 1897, by Ambassador Patenôtre, who at first proposed to concede the whole minimum tariff of France in exchange for the authorized reduction of 20 per cent on the entire list of French merchandise imported into the United States. After careful consideration this offer was declined by the American negotiator, who then made a counter-proposition to Ambassador Cambon — the successor of M. Patenôtre — for a moderate reduction on specific French articles in exchange for the French minimum tariff on all United States exports. This constituted the basis of the successful negotiations which followed.

The tariff system of France is unique, consisting of a general (maximum) and a minimum tariff. The latter is enjoyed by nations with which France has concluded special commercial treaties, as is

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the case with every commercially important country of Europe, excepting Portugal; while the higher rates of the general tariff are imposed on the products of less fortunate nations, and in this category is the United States. It is true there is a single tariff for certain articles and also a limited free list; but the unpleasant fact remains that the United States is face to face in France with a most objectionable discriminating tariff system.

Now, as to what the United States secures. In article 1 of the convention France agrees that all articles of merchandise, the product of the soil or industry of the United States of America, exported to France or Algeria (whether shipped directly to a French or Algerian port or arriving by way of an intermediate port) shall be admitted into France and Algeria upon the payment of only the minimum rates of duty imposed on like articles of any other origin, excepting from this general provision nineteen articles only, viz.: horses, butter, lucerne and clover seed, fodder, cast-iron, skins and hides prepared, boots and shoes and parts of same, belts, cords, and other leather articles for machinery, dynamos, machine tools, dynamo conductors and parts, arc lamps known as regulators, sugar, green or dried chicory roots, eggs, cheese, honey, porcelain, and rough cardboard in sheets. These excepted articles are enumerated in order that the reader may perceive that the majority do not figure prominently, if at all, in our exports to France. In fact, only two, viz., boots and shoes and machine tools, are of much importance in a commercial sense. But even for these nineteen exceptions — which may possibly form the basis of a supplementary treaty — the American negotiator contended vigorously and persistently. On the other hand, the grant by France of her minimum tariff on every other conceivable product of United States soil or manufacture opens up a magnificent prospect for our diversified industries.

The French tariff contains 654 numbers. Deducting the 19 excepted articles, there remain 635 categories of merchandise on which the United States has obtained concessions. It would have made an imposing array to have specified all of them in the treaty itself, but the United States Commissioner wisely considered the universal clause as preferable. The average percentage of reduction from the rates of the maximum tariff made by France is 26.1 per cent, excluding mineral and vegetable oils, and 48 per cent, including them. On many articles it is 50 and even 60 per cent. The average reduction on 96 products of the soil is over 32 per cent.

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Among the important products of our soil and manufactures which are largely benefited in the treaty may be cited the following (the accompanying percentages of reduction were computed by the United States Government actuary): Agricultural implements and machinery of all kinds, 41⅔ per cent; other machinery and engines of all kinds, 33⅓ to 46 per cent; railway equipment and supplies of every description, 16 to 48 per cent; vehicles of all kinds, 16⅔ to 26 per cent; cycles and parts, 12 per cent; watches and clocks, 25 to 87½ per cent; sewing machines, 30 per cent; stoves, 33⅓ per cent; scientific instruments and apparatus of all kinds, free; musical instruments, 16⅔ to 33⅓ per cent; furniture, 14 3/10 to 36 per cent; all manufactures of wood, 14 3/10 to 60 per cent; rubber goods, 20 to 33⅓ per cent; textiles and all other manufactures of silk, wool, flax, hemp, etc., 20 to 66⅔ per cent; cotton cloths and knit goods of cotton, 23 per cent; lumber and timber, 28 to 40 per cent; stone, 60 per cent; marble, free and 20 to 40 per cent; iron (except pig) of all kinds and in all shapes, 5 to 46 per cent; steel of all kinds and in all shapes, 5 to 46 per cent; sulphate of copper, 25 per cent; petroleum, 50 per cent; products of petroleum, 12½ to 50 per cent; meats, 10 to 50 per cent; lard, 37½ per cent; fruit and vegetables, 20 to 66⅔ per cent; carded cotton, 25 per cent; wools, 20 to 30 per cent; pitch and tar, 25 to 40 per cent; turpentine, 50 per cent; resin, 40 per cent; oil cake and meal, free; flour, wheat and grain of all kinds, and cotton-seed oil, lowest rates.

In short, nearly every United States industry, great or little — whether fully developed and already battling for recognition against heavy odds in the markets of France, or yet in infancy, but with commercial ambitions and possibilities — has been cared for in this convention, in whose ratification at the approaching session of Congress every section of this country should be equally interested.

In 1897 France imported from the world a total of $117,000,000 worth of manufactured goods, of which the United States, handicapped by the maximum tariff, furnished less than $4,000,000 worth. The commercial possibilities, when this market of forty millions of highly civilized people shall be opened to our producers on conditions of equality with their European competitors, will certainly be very great. It has been estimated that, with the treaty in operation, the annual exports of the United States to France would increase in value to the extent of about $25,000,000. In the language of Mr. Kasson, before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations:

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"We are not merely regulating an old trade and market, but making a new one, for American manufacturers. We are getting advantages on old trade, but that is nothing as compared with the new trade that is coming to relieve the plethora which will soon be on our own home market."

Now, what does France secure? In Article II the United States reciprocally agrees to the admission of certain specified products of France or Algeria at reductions in duty varying from 5 to 20 per cent from the existing rates. The enumerated articles comprise 126 numbers of the United States tariff, which contains 463 dutiable items. The United States, therefore, reserves from its concessional list to France 337 categories of merchandise, whereas France, as we have seen, excepts only 19 United States products from her grant of the minimum tariff. It is to be remembered, however, that France is only giving us what she has already conceded to European nations, while our concessions are made to France for the first time.

In 1898 the total value of imports into this country of French merchandise that would be affected by the treaty was $25,504,443. Taking this amount as a basis, the following table, prepared by the United States Government actuary, Mr. Joseph S. McCoy, shows the distribution of the concessions offered by the United States.

The concession of 20 per cent applies to only.....	$1,444,186
The concession of 15 per cent applies to only.....	968,767
The concession of 10 per cent applies to.....	5,971,207
The concession of 5 per cent applies to.....	17,120,283
Total.....	$25,504,443

In fact, the authorized reduction of 20 per cent is granted by the United States on eight items only, that of 15 per cent on six only, while the average percentage of reduction is only $6\frac{8}{10}$ per cent.

The opposition in this country to the ratification of the treaty is confined almost exclusively to manufacturers of cotton knit goods, imitation jewelry, and spectacles. The United States tariff and treaty rates on these articles are as follows:

	AVERAGE AD VALOREM DUTY UNDER U. S. TARIFF ACT OF 1897. PER CENT.	AVERAGE AD VALOREM DUTY UNDER FRENCH TREATY. PER CENT.
Cotton knit goods...	$64\frac{2}{10}$	$51\frac{5}{10}$
Imitation jewelry...	60	57
Spectacles.....	$79\frac{8}{10}$	$71\frac{8}{10}$

To show the groundlessness of the fears expressed by representatives of these industries that the concessions to France may affect them

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injuriously, it will suffice to take the single instance of cotton knit goods. The annual product of the United States is about $100,000,000, while our imports from the world amounted, in 1898, to $4,034,483, of which France furnished only $241,278. The duty on this class of goods, as averaged at the Treasury, is $64\frac{2}{10}$ per cent ad valorem. The concession of 20 per cent does not mean, as some critics apparently believe, that the treaty would reduce the duty to $44\frac{2}{10}$ per cent. It means that it would be reduced to $51\frac{5}{10}$ per cent ad valorem, which certainly involves no sacrifice of our protective policy. And right here it may be remarked that there are one hundred business interests of the United States directly benefited by the treaty to one that is asked, for the sake of the common welfare, to spare a tittle of its tariff protection.

In addition to the foregoing concessions the United States, in Article III, agrees to extend to France or Algeria any reduction of duties upon sparkling wines or certain articles of woollen manufacture which may hereafter be conceded to any other country. The grant to Portugal, however, of reduced rates on sparkling wines does not inure to France, the Portuguese agreement having been concluded prior to this convention; and the general understanding is that no reduction of duties on woollen goods is contemplated.

Article IV provides that in case either contracting party, during the term of the convention, shall, by legislative action, increase the reduced rates stipulated in the treaty for the products of the other, or shall impose new restrictions or prohibitions upon importations from the other, the option is reserved to the other contracting party to terminate its obligations under the convention after six months' notice to that effect.

Article V provides that the treaty shall be ratified by both governments and shall continue in force for the term of five years from the date of exchange of ratifications, and from year to year thereafter, until denounced by either contracting party by giving twelve months' notice to the other.

The following conventions with the British West Indies were in fact negotiated in most instances by colonial delegates, who came to Washington for that purpose; but were signed by the diplomatic representative of the British Government.

The convention with Great Britain on behalf of her colony of Barbados was signed by Mr. Kasson and Mr. Reginald Tower, British Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, on June 16, 1899. The

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United States grants a concession of 12½ per cent reduction of the existing duties on cane sugars and molasses, fresh fruit and vegetables, and asphalt or manjack. In return Barbados agrees to the free admission of nineteen articles of United States exports, including vehicles, clocks, cycles and parts, machinery for electric lighting, corn and corn meal, cotton-seed oil, eggs, hay, horses, pitch, tar, resin, etc.; it also guarantees that the duties imposed on eight classes of goods, comprising fruits and vegetables, clothing, hardware, furniture, earthenware, glassware, woodenware, and willowware shall not exceed 5 per cent ad valorem, and it specifies low rates, which shall not be increased, on twelve classes of United States merchandise.

The convention with Great Britain on behalf of British Guiana was signed by Mr. Kasson and Mr. Tower on July 18, 1899. The United States grants a reduction of 12½ per cent on cane sugars, fresh vegetables, and kaolin. The reciprocal concessions given by the colony are almost identical with those granted to the United States by Barbados, the articles being practically the same, with slight differences in the specified low rates in the third schedule.

The convention on behalf of Turks and Caicos Islands was concluded by Mr. Kasson, for the United States, and Mr. Tower, for Great Britain, on July 21, 1899. The United States concedes a reduction of 12½ per cent merely on salt and unmanufactured sponges, and continues the free admission of unmanufactured and undressed sisal grass. Reciprocally, the Islands grant exemption of customs duties on twenty-one products of the United States, including cereals and other farm products, manufactured goods of various kinds, iron, steel, copper, etc.; and on another list of nineteen articles low rates are specified, which shall not be increased.

The convention with Great Britain on behalf of the colony of Jamaica was signed by Mr. Kasson and Mr. Tower on July 22, 1899. The United States concedes a reduction of 12½ per cent of the duties on cane sugar and molasses; of 20 per cent on citrus fruits, pine apples, fresh vegetables, and rum; and the free entry of certain natural products of Jamaica not produced in this country. In compensation Jamaica agrees to admit free of duty fifty-nine classes of products of United States soil and industry, including machinery, agricultural implements and tools, telegraphic, telephonic, gas, and electrical apparatus and appliances, railway equipment, vehicles, steam-engines, sewing machines, steel, zinc, coal, coke, fruit,

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fish, meat, etc. The colony also agrees upon certain low rates, which shall not be exceeded, on a further list of twenty articles of United States export, mostly farm products.

This is the only one of the conventions for the British West Indian colonies which has been at all criticised, and this simply because of the concession respecting citrus fruits from Jamaica, which, the orange growers of California say, compete with their products in the markets of the United States. The season of importation of Jamaican oranges, however, is only in part coincident with the market season of the California oranges. But there would be no increase of competition in any event, because the entire crop of the island is now sold in the United States. In fact, the competition is likely to be less, owing to the establishment of subsidized fast steamers between Jamaica and England, with a view to a diversion to the latter of the present Jamaican trade with the United States.

The convention with Great Britain on behalf of Bermuda was concluded by Mr. Kasson and Mr. Tower on July 24, 1899. The United States grants a reduction of 20 per cent of the present duties on the island's early potatoes, its onions, tomatoes, and other fresh vegetables, as well as its bulbs and natural flowers. In return we secure the free admission into the colony of thirty articles of merchandise, including fresh and canned fruits, vegetables, fresh and canned meats, dredging machinery, agricultural implements, clocks, vehicles, cycles, cotton-seed oil and cake, naval stores, etc. Bermuda also agrees that on seven enumerated classes of articles, including cereals, flour, and furniture, the rate of duty shall not exceed 5 per cent ad valorem, and specifies a low rate for United States cattle.

A convention with Great Britain for Trinidad was concluded by Mr. Kasson and the British Chargé d'Affaires on July 22, 1899, but it failed to receive the assent of the colonial legislature. A second convention was then negotiated, and signed on February 13, 1900, by United States Commissioner Kasson and Lord Pauncefote, the British Ambassador. The stipulated period for exchange of ratifications has expired and, as in the case of the other British colonies, it may not be extended, in which event, of course, it will not be sent to the Senate. The writer is unable to discuss the contents of this and of four other conventions which have not yet been submitted to the Senate, ordered printed, and the injunction of secrecy removed.

The Argentina convention was signed at Buenos Ayres, July 10, 1899, by the respective plenipotentiaries, Hon. William I.

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Buchanan, United States Minister at Buenos Ayres, and Dr. Amancio Alcorta, Minister of Foreign Relations of the Argentine Republic. The United States concedes to Argentina a reduction of 20 per cent of the existing duties on sugar, hides of cattle, and certain kinds of wool. Reciprocally, Argentina grants the following concessions upon the products of the United States: (1) a reduction of 50 per cent of the duties (existing or which may be prescribed by law) on ten classes of articles, principally canned goods; (2) a reduction of 20 per cent of present or future rates on eight classes of articles, including bacon, all cereal foods, sail-twine, and cotton rope; (3) a guaranty that the duties imposed on furniture made of oak, ash, or pine shall be calculated on a basis more favorable than at present; (4) a reduced rate of 15 per cent ad valorem on white, spruce, Oregon and yellow pines, oak and ash lumber, undressed; (5) a guaranty of a fixed low rate on cotton-seed oil; and (6) the specification of reduced *aforos* on about thirteen articles largely imported from the United States. The *aforos* are valuations on imports which are fixed by the executive authority of Argentina as the basis for the assessment of ad valorem duties. The arbitrary exercise from time to time of this power is a convenient expedient for increasing revenues without recourse to additional legislation, and has proved a source of embarrassment to our exporters.

As respects the concessions secured from Argentina, this treaty is distinctly a diplomatic triumph for the United States. Indeed, it would be difficult to devise arrangements more favorable for the development of our trade in that country. Unfortunately, the convention is vulnerable in a single feature, viz.: the concession on the part of the United States of a reduction of 20 per cent of the present tariff rates on Argentine wool, and this has aroused such opposition from the wool-growing interests of our country as to imperil its ratification by the Senate. The Argentine negotiator made this particular concession a *sine qua non;* otherwise, of course, the United States minister would never have agreed to its inclusion in the original *projet* of the convention furnished him by the Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary.

On the other hand, advocates of the treaty in exporting circles claim that the concession on wool would have little, if any, effect in increasing the importation of that article from Argentina. The total import of wool into the United States from all sources, in 1899, was 76,736,209 pounds, of which the Argentine Republic furnished only

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7,573,601 pounds. Its classification, with present tariff and concessional rates under the treaty, is as follows:

WOOLS OF	IMPORTS FROM ARGENTINA, 1899.	UNITED STATES TARIFF RATES.	TREATY RATES.
Class I.....	2,693,426 pounds	11 cents per pound	$8\frac{8}{10}$ cents per pound
Class III....	4,880,175 pounds	4 and 7 cents per pound	$3\frac{2}{10}$ and $5\frac{6}{10}$ cents per pound
Total....	7,573,601 pounds		

It will be observed that the wools which we import from Argentina belong mostly to Class III. They are of a much inferior grade to those produced in the United States, and are needed especially by our carpet manufacturers.

The convention with Nicaragua was concluded at Washington on October 20, 1899, and signed by Commissioner Kasson, on the part of the United States, and Dr. Joaquin Sanson, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua, on the part of the latter nation.

The convention with Denmark on behalf of the West Indian Island of St. Croix was concluded June 5, 1900, by Mr. Kasson, on the part of the United States, and Mr. Constantin Brun, Danish minister at Washington, on the part of Denmark.

The convention with the Dominican Republic was negotiated by the Reciprocity Commissioner, and signed at Washington on June 25, 1900, by Secretary Hay, on the part of the United States, and Senor F. Vasquez, Minister of Improvements and Public Works of the Dominican Republic and Special Envoy to the United States, on the part of the other contracting nation.

The convention with Ecuador was signed at Quito on July 10, 1900, by Hon. Archibald J. Sampson, United States Minister at Quito, and Dr. José Peralta, Minister of Foreign Relations of Ecuador, representing their respective governments.

These last four conventions, not yet having been submitted to the Senate, cannot be discussed.

The reader will observe that some of the treaties above mentioned have been concluded subsequent to July 24, 1899, notwithstanding that a strict construction of section 4 requires that not only the conclusion but the *ratification* by the Senate of any treaties negotiated thereunder must be within a period of two years from and after the passage of the act — an obvious impossibility. The same section also provides that these treaties shall be ratified by the Senate

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(requiring the constitutional two-thirds vote) and "approved by Congress" (majority vote). In other respects, however, they are all in strict conformity with the provisions of section 4, and the intentions of Congress have been faithfully carried out by the President; hence it matters little whether they be regarded as negotiated under section 4 or by virtue of the constitutional power of the Executive to make a treaty of any kind, subject only to ratification by the Senate.

In conclusion, a natural query is, What would be the probable effect upon our international commercial relations of the abandonment of the reciprocity principle as an essential feature of the present tariff law, coördinate with high protection? Perhaps nothing so serious as what I intimated at the beginning of this article, but unquestionably some unpleasantness for our exporting interests, as a few straws may indicate. Shortly after the passage of the Dingley bill, the Premier of the Austro-Hungarian empire publicly proposed united official action on the part of Europe against the commercial interests of the United States; but the other powers, hopeful of the possibilities presented by the reciprocity features of the tariff act, failed to engage in the scheme. The following remarks by Mr. Kasson before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, respecting his negotiations with France, are also significant in this connection:

"They change with great facility their minimum tariff to maximum, and from one rate to another, where there are no treaty arrangements. When Mr. Patenôtre and myself had for the time being dropped the negotiations under the fourth section of the tariff act, they more than doubled their duties on Chicago meat products very suddenly, and barred the market by lifting their maximum rates upon us, raising the minimum rate also."

If unjust discriminations beyond endurance should be heaped upon the products of the United States there would be no adequate remedy in our tariff system, unless the offending nation happened to be, like Brazil or Venezuela, a producer and exporter of coffee, tea,[1] or tonka and vanilla beans, in which case the President could, under the retaliatory clause of section 3 of the tariff act, suspend by proclamation the free entry of the said products from the particular country; and thereafter they would be subjected to certain specified duties. But if our exports were to be made the object of hostile and unreasonable discriminations by an important nation of Europe, it would be absolutely necessary for Congress to enact retaliatory measures of

[1] A duty of 10 cents per pound, however, was imposed on all foreign teas by the War Revenue Law, approved June 13, 1898.

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a far more comprehensive character than any to be found in existing legislation.

Let us hope, however, that this deplorable necessity will not arise, for the policy of retaliation would restrict all foreign trade, entrain endless embarrassments, and engender unfriendly feeling between the nations involved; whereas the policy of reciprocity will surely stimulate our domestic industries, extend our commerce, allay the tempers of our foreign friends which have been ruffled by the advanced protectionism of the Dingley tariff, and promote cordiality in our international relations.

JOHN BALL OSBORNE.

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THE CHINESE SYSTEM OF BANKING.

The stranger on arriving in China is struck with the apparent inconvenience of the monetary system; but a short residence tends to create an opinion that the system is well adapted to the people, at least in some respects. The financial business of the foreigner is done in either Mexican dollars or in taels, as he prefers, and his bank account is kept in the same way. Drafts on London are in pounds sterling. Ordinary accounts in the stores in Shanghai are kept in Mexican dollars. The commercial business is done mostly in taels. As the price of silver varies every day, the transfer of dollars into pounds, pounds into taels, and taels into Mexicans is bewildering. Usually the tael is worth $1.40 in Mexicans.

Until recently China has resisted all schemes for the establishment of a mint, as understood in Western countries. Yet it is said that China coined iron money two thousand six hundred years before Christ, under the reign of Huang Ti. This coin has been replaced by a copper piece called chien, because it originally weighed a mace (one-tenth of a tael). This and lump silver are the only public signs of the value of products and the only instruments of ordinary barter, except some Mexican dollars recently coined. The popular name of this coin is "cash."

The monetary system as affecting silver is arranged on the principle of weight, and the divisions have the same names — taels, mace, candareen, and cash. The computation is decimal. Each cash should weigh, as Williams states, 58 grains Troy, or 3.78 grams; but there are in various localities smaller cash in circulation, and the rate of exchange varies in different parts of the land from 500 to 1,800 for a silver dollar. There are big cash and little cash. The Pekin cash passes 5 for 1 silver cent or 500 for $1. Taking into consideration the immense population of China and the poverty of the people, a good argument may be formulated to sustain the legislator who created "cash." If there was to be but one coin, it had necessarily to be the smallest.

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Great weight makes transportation difficult, so that copper coin is not often carried from place to place; and the incumbrance of quantities of coin is so great that every one seeks to get rid of it. For transactions to be consummated at a distance the copper coin must be changed for silver, but in small transactions in the various localities its circulation is rapid. It thus happens that silver in the empire and coin in the districts fulfil exactly the intention of the Government. In the open ports, and wherever Europeans have a foothold, the Mexican dollar readily passes current. At Pekin the missionaries, whose dealings are with the poorer classes of people, use exclusively the tael and the cash. But the foreign merchants located at Pekin as well as the legations habitually keep their accounts in Mexican dollars.

The tael varies in weight in various centers. The Hai Kuan (customs) tael is the heaviest, and it is the one in which the Government collects its revenues in the customs. It is worth more than any other tael. The copper coin, as coined by the Government, never varies in purity; and no matter what the value of copper may be the same quantity enters into the coin. Williams gives the contents of this coin as follows: Alloy of copper 50, zinc 41½, lead 6½, and tin 2, or equal parts of copper and zinc. It must be said that the Chinese have succeeded reasonably well in maintaining the equilibrium between silver and cash and between these two metals and the needs of commerce. Monsieur Simon, who wrote a valuable paper on this subject, accounts for the first result by the non-existence of foreign enterprises which offer to pay large interest on silver, but more particularly by the Chinese law which permits interest at 30 per cent. While this law exists no country will be able to compete with China as a market for silver.

As to the depreciation of silver, it depends on many causes and cannot be avoided. Its inconveniences are manifold, especially to the poorer classes, whose wages do not increase as the value of silver diminishes. The Government seeks to avoid the effect of depreciation by making new issues of cash. Because the importation of foreign silver tends to diminish the value of silver in the Empire, there is a strong party in China opposed to foreign commerce. It may be remarked that the depreciation of silver is one of the great evils attending commercial operations in China. The European who desires to send a part of his earnings home finds that his silver tael varies in value every day. The lower silver goes the less sterling it will buy, and the more he loses. The rate of exchange on London and

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the demand are the measures of the profits of the trade with China. It is, therefore, evident that when exchange on London is low, the merchant in China cannot get his goods laid down in this market for the same price in sterling as when the exchange is high. The market value of the goods not having increased he has to bear a loss proportionate to the fall in exchange.

The interest laws of China, with which the operations of banking are intimately connected, date from the year 1250 of our era. The enormous rate of interest is curiously defended by several writers. It results, they say, in securing economy, in order that the borrower may repay the loan, in producing greater industry, in deterring persons from borrowing, in reducing the number of renters of land, thus increasing the number of land owners, and in inducing circumspection with regard to new enterprises. It is further stated, by men of business, that this 30 per cent is only a maximum founded on the probability that the oscillations in the price of silver will never exceed that sum. It must be understood also that the ordinary rate of interest rarely exceeds 20 or 22 per cent, and that money may be had as low as 12 per cent, though the rate sometimes exceeds even 30 per cent.

Silver is ordinarily cast into pieces of ten taels value, bearing some resemblance to a Chinese shoe, being a lump hollowed out in the center and raised at the sides and ends. Large pieces of fifty taels are almost the exact shape of a shoe. They are from 97 to 99 per cent pure silver. Gold bullion is cast into bars, like cakes of India ink, weighing about ten taels. In the early days of foreign trade the Mexican dollar was cut into pieces as it was in our Western States. Pieces were punched out of it until it lost recognition as a coin. I have seen in the south of China hundreds of these mutilated pieces, which are of no use except to be melted into bullion. It is the custom in the south of China to stamp Mexican dollars, and they are then called "chopped dollars."

Williams has little to say about the banking system of China, but his views, in the main, are correct. The subject is worthy of more attention than he accorded to it, and it is becoming day by day more important. The progress of trade, the necessities of the Empire, and the importunity of foreigners seeking concessions of banking privileges have latterly attracted the attention of the whole world to banking in China.

There does not exist in China any state bank, so-called. The issue

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of paper money dates back to the earliest historic period. The reader of Marco Polo wearies of the continual and unvarying description given by him of the countries that he visited. The monotonous statement is forever repeated that "they issue paper money." This statement is sometimes all that is said, and constitutes a chapter. Kublai Khan bought everything valuable his people had, and paid in paper money, a system much commended by Marco Polo as resulting in the possession of endless treasure without any cost. This system brought on a rebellion which overthrew the reigning dynasty.

Five hundred years before Christ, Government bills, which were utterly worthless, were forced into circulation. In 1455, according to Williams, they were suspended; and, except during the Taiping rebellion, in 1858, no bills have been issued since. These bills were current in the capital only. As there is no profit to a government in the business of banking except in the issue of paper money, and as only a bank of issue requires special privileges, China has, as a state, nothing to do with banking. There is, however, in each province a private bank which performs the functions of the treasury for the Government and receives the taxes. It requires payment in silver purer than the silver of the locality, and thereby makes two per cent as compensation for its services. These banks are like all other private banks and perform all the usual functions. There are also private banks of emission, but they are not numerous. They exist chiefly at Pekin. They issue notes of as low a denomination as 10 cents. Their bills do not pass current out of Pekin. These notes are worth more than cash, and a great business is done in exchanging one for the other.

The Government tolerates rather than favors these banks of issue. In the event of suspension of payment the Government officials take possession of the bank and administer its affairs for the benefit of the bill-holders. There are few cases where there are, after failure, any but nominal assets. Usually when disaster comes the banker disappears with the assets, and the loss is total. The true Chinese banks are the banks of discount and deposit. These stand high in popular confidence. It does not appear that they derive any great benefit from governmental action. For aught that can be ascertained to the contrary these banks are as old as history. Their existence 2,600 B. C. is said to have been well established. The creation of paper money and the existence of banks are contemporaneously described, and, possibly, the coinage suggested the bank.

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The insecurity of Chinese houses and the danger from fire made banks of deposits a necessity. All classes in China have bank accounts. The business of the banks is to discount paper, to negotiate bills of exchange, to loan money on land or on personal property, and to buy and sell the precious metals. There is no government limit to their establishment. They sell bills of exchange at short dates to any point in China. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation and other foreign banks have largely interfered with the sale of foreign bills and of bills running for a long time. The banks ordinarily, except in Pekin, pay interest on deposits, sometimes on daily balances. They agree also to give the parties every facility for borrowing. The custom is that a depositor can obtain on his own paper, as a loan, twice the amount of his deposit, but only for a few days' accommodation. Deposits may be withdrawn at will, and the interest, except in Pekin, is allowed up to the date of withdrawal. The foreign banks also pay interest on deposits, but they stipulate for fixed terms. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation pays five per cent on fixed deposits. The bank, for a consideration, guarantees the paper of its customers. It sometimes happens here, as elsewhere, that the deposits are ten or fifteen times greater than the capital of the bank.

There exists in Pekin a clearing-house system which will compare favorably with that of New York. Each depositor receives from his banker a book with two columns, in one of which will be entered his deposits, and in the other to his debit all the sums he may disburse. He then sends all his creditors to his banker to be paid, and in the evening he sends his book to his bankers. The next morning the clerks of the various banks get together and indicate in their books the various sums that they are to disburse or to receive for their patrons. The balances are paid in cash, or are left to stand over on interest until the end of the year. It is said that the banks assist each other in case of difficulty, and that they extend the time of payment to any solvent bank requiring it.

The system of demanding immediate payment by holders of bills, which has resulted in so many commercial crises in America and elsewhere, does not exist in China. The Chinese banker allows ten or fifteen days in which the debtor bank can raise money at home or procure it from the provinces. Failures take place here as elsewhere; but a bank resting on a solid foundation, which might have been ruined by sudden pressure, secures time to raise funds and save

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itself. These financial difficulties ordinarily supervene at the end of the year only, when all debts must be settled. At the time of the Chinese New Year and at two other periods — the fifth and the eighth moon festivals — every man settles up, and to allow a debt to go over these periods is considered disgraceful. Especially does this rule prevail at the Chinese New Year, which occurs in February of our calendar. These important periodical settlements have hitherto had the effect of preventing financial crises such as have occurred in other countries.

It is the practice of the Government to allow its moneys to be deposited with the banks of the best class when any danger is anticipated. Thus, at the end of the year large deposits are made by the Government officials in the banks, to enable the latter to meet their obligations in cases where there has been unusual stringency in the market. In cases of general suffering the Government also makes loans of grain to cultivators of land and to other necessitous people, to be repaid, with interest, in kind.

There is little counterfeiting of bank bills. Often the depositor waits and sees the bills filled up in sums to suit him. I knew one case where a very worthy gentleman thus received notes representing 100 taels in the morning, and where the bank closed before night. He came to me, and I presented his case to the Tsung-li Yamen. The Yamen denied all responsibility, but promised to see that the assets were properly administered. A Government officer took possession of the bank, the cashier having fled; but my friend never received a cent of his 100 taels.

Circular letters of credit are issued by the banks, which are good in China where the banks have agencies. Money is remitted from place to place in bills as at home. The rates are much higher than with us, as transportation is private and very costly. No statistics are published that I know of relative to banks, and bankers are reticent. There is considerable competition between native and foreign banks, and information as to business is designedly withheld. The branch of the Hong Kong and Shanghai bank at Pekin keeps large sums on deposit in about twenty banks, but receives no interest thereon. The native banks "milt" the silver received without charge, which is all the consideration the Hong Kong and Shanghai bank receives for its deposits. The ordinary rate of interest at Pekin is 1 per cent a month.

Silver comes to the capital from the provinces in small wooden

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logs. The inside is dug out, and the silver is put in. The pieces of wood are then bound together with iron bands, and are thus carted to the treasury. Among foreigners in China there is a general desire for coinage and a national bank. The rivalry between the various nationalities is so great, however, that any particular scheme by one nationality is attacked by all the others. This happened, notably, when the Philadelphia syndicate sought to obtain concessions at Tientsin.

In spite of the abundance of banks existing in China, making it a country as thoroughly provided with them as any country in the world, they often succumb to financial difficulties. Some of their difficulties originate from the non-fulfilment of the obligations assumed by the local authorities. This happened recently in Shansi, where, during the campaigns in the northwest, the banks lost many millions of taels. There being no Government bank, the private banks can get no relief when it is most needed, except as I have already stated. It must be remembered, in considering the general question, that the merchants and others have little confidence in the good faith of officials. As China is practically divided into twenty-one separate local governments, with almost absolute authority in the viceroys or governors, this want of confidence in financial matters results in serious evils. There seems to be no reason why our banking system should not work successfully in China. If China would intrust the whole subject to some great American financier, I do not doubt that the success which has attended the operations of the imperial maritime customs under Sir Robert Hart would be realized in banking and coinage.

There is no confusion in the world comparable to the financial muddle in governmental operations in China. The immense benefits which would accrue to the Government from a good system in the collection, distribution, and remittance of revenues are patent to all observers. The superintendence of financial matters in China would be a career worthy of any man's ambition. It is needless to say that unimpeachable reputation and great ability would be requisite. Recently mints have been established by several of the viceroys. There are such establishments at Canton, Hankow, and Tientsin. They coin silver dollars, half dollars, quarters, and ten and five cent pieces. These coins are made a legal tender. They do not, however, circulate in the interior, where the old system of using lumps of silver prevails.

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Besides the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation there are also the Russo-Chinese Bank, the Imperial Chinese Bank, and some other foreign banks which do business in the concessions. What results the present disturbances may produce in the financial world it is difficult to foresee. The whole situation in North China is a wretched mess, which might have been avoided by pursuing an honest and honorable course toward China. But the financial people are in no wise responsible for this condition, and I have faith that the business men of the country will bring order out of chaos.

CHARLES DENBY.

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THE PROGRAMME FOR CONGRESS.

THE result of the election just held insures the control of both branches of Congress by the Republicans until March 4, 1903. In the Fifty-seventh Congress, which begins on the fourth of next March, the Republican majority will be in the neighborhood of forty-five, while in the Senate it will be about eighteen.

This fact has its influence upon the Republican programme for the short session of Congress, beginning on the first Monday of December, 1900, because it insures them the power to enact later such legislation as may fail, through various causes, during the brief three months of work remaining for the present session. In addition to this all incentive for Democratic opposition is removed. If the next House were to be Democratic, it could be confidently predicted that successful opposition would be interposed by the Democrats to sundry Republican measures which they regard as extravagant, unnecessary, and dangerous. Two such measures instantly suggest themselves, viz.: the Shipping Subsidy Bill and the proposition to increase the regular army.

Ordinarily, a short session of Congress is devoted almost exclusively to the preparation and passage of the appropriation bills. These are becoming more bulky in form and larger in aggregate expenditures with each successive year; and "a billion dollar Congress," which was once a political issue, is now accepted as a matter of necessity, to be neither criticised nor opposed. The war with Spain compelled increased budgets, which were voted without question; and the subsequent development of affairs in the Philippines and the maintenance of new governments in Hawaii and Puerto Rico have kept the expenditures up to high-water mark. The incursion of the army into China, a very proper sequel to the imprisonment of the American minister in Pekin, occasioned a very great outlay which must be met by deficiency appropriations. At home, the country and the government are growing. Towns are becoming cities and require public buildings; commerce is constantly seeking the im-

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provement of internal waterways; the machinery of Federal administration is steadily expanding. A thousand new rivulets combine to swell the broad stream of congressional appropriations.

The Republican party is not a party of economy. It is always liberal in providing for the Government; and though this liberality sometimes approaches the danger line of extravagance, there is no doubt that it is a wiser policy than the cheese-paring of the Democrats. Sustained by the verdict of November 6, the Republican leaders in Congress will feel justified in recommending large appropriations; and I look, therefore, for budgets of unequalled magnitude. Some of the more conservative party managers will undoubtedly suggest that the future must not be forgotten and that the day of reckoning will come. Their voices will be almost unheard amid the loud outcry for generous appropriations. An overflowing treasury will invite expenditures on a mammoth scale; and the probability is that the invitation will be accepted.

In the first session of the present, or Fifty-sixth, Congress, the total appropriations reached the enormous sum of $674,000,000. A rather suggestive insight into the American character is afforded by the fact that nearly one-quarter of this aggregate, or $145,000,000, was distributed in pensions — the practical acknowledgment of a debt of gratitude to the men who fought for the nation in the Civil War. There is no possibility of the decrease of this sum. On the contrary, the pension list is being swollen daily as the result of the war with Spain and the continuing war in the Philippines; and it will require the greatest amount of firmness on the part of the Republican leaders to withstand the appeal of the pensioners for allowances even more liberal than they now receive. Next to pensions, the administration of the Post Office Department demands the largest sum, $105,000,000; and while its expenditure naturally increases with the development of the country, the service has reached a point where it is practically self-supporting, so that it need not be taken into consideration.

On the other hand, the amount appropriated for the army is a direct outlay, and will soon reach unparalleled figures. It aggregated in the last session $80,000,000, or $30,000,000 less than the sum asked by the Secretary of War, and the probability is that at least $100,000,000 will be provided in the approaching session. The navy asked $74,000,000 and received $48,000,000, with the likelihood that $60,000,000 will be granted. The legislative and the sun-

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dry civil budgets, which deal with the administration of government, appropriated nearly $100,000,000, an amount which is certain to be exceeded. If a river and harbor bill is enacted several additional millions will swell the total.

As a matter of interest, and as a basis for future comparison, I present herewith the items which combined to make the total appropriations of $674,000,000 in the last session of Congress:

Agriculture	$3,726,022.00
Army	80,430,204.06
Diplomatic and Consular	1,714,533.76
District of Columbia	6,834,535.77
Fortification	4,909,902.00
Indian	7,504,775.81
Legislative, etc.	23,410,840.79
Military Academy	575,774.47
Navy	48,099,969.58
Pension	145,233,830.00
Post Office	105,634,138.75
River and Harbor	16,091,841.94
Sundry Civil	48,385,930.86
Deficiencies	25,005,912.26
Miscellaneous	28,744,590.24
Permanent annual	128,678,220.00
Total	$674,981,022.29

Even should the appropriations of the second session of Congress be limited to the same figures as the first, which is not likely in the natural order of things, we should still reach a total for the entire Congress of nearly $1,500,000,000.

I have gone with some detail into these figures because their consideration will form the backbone, as it were, of the session's work, and because there is a very general demand all over the country for a repeal of some of the taxes imposed to meet increased war expenditures. The Republican party in the House of Representatives hinted in the last session at some reduction of this taxation, and gave hearings to the brewers, upon whom the burden falls with especial weight. These intimations found concrete expression in the national platform of the party, which declared that "the country is now justified in expecting, and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about, a reduction of the war taxes;" and Speaker Henderson, in his campaign speeches, assured his audiences that this promise would be fulfilled.

It would seem, therefore, as if a part of the programme for the

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approaching short session of Congress would be the enactment of a law repealing emergency taxation; but I seriously doubt whether anything in the way of universal relief will be accomplished. In the first place, the elections are over, and ante-campaign promises may be forgotten; in the second place, the distribution of taxation was made with consummate wisdom, and the burden is borne by those most able to bear it, so that there is no emphatic protest due either to injustice or inability to pay; and, last, the Government will need all the money it can raise to meet the increasing expenditures. It is true that the refunding of a large portion of the national debt into two per cent bonds reduces the interest charges; but even with this saving the necessary demands upon the Federal treasury cannot be met by the ordinary revenues. Some reduction of taxation may be made by Congress, but I do not look for anything like the complete wiping out of all the taxation imposed after the war with Spain.

The focus of interest in the next session of Congress will undoubtedly be the bill "to promote the commerce and increase the foreign trade of the United States and to provide auxiliary cruisers, transports, and seamen for government use when necessary." This is the merchant marine bill, or, to call it by its more popular and expressive title, the Shipping Subsidy Bill. In the Senate the measure was considered in the last session by the Committee on Commerce, of which Senator Frye is chairman, and in the House by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, of which Representative Grosvenor, of Ohio, is chairman. Both committees reported substantially similar measures to their respective Houses.

The bill, as is well known, provides that there shall be paid to American sail and steam vessels carrying cargoes compensation at the rate of one and one-half cents per gross ton for each one hundred miles, not exceeding in the aggregate 1,500 miles, outward and homeward bound, and additional compensation of one cent per gross ton for each additional one hundred miles on longer voyages. It is not necessary that the vessel shall carry passengers. It is simply to make trips in the foreign trade with cargoes of not less than a prescribed amount, no matter what the nature of the trade may be. In order to stimulate the building of large steamers of more than the average rate of speed additional subsidy is proposed, based upon speed and tonnage, as high as 2.3 cents per gross ton. Foreign-built vessels admitted to American registry are to receive only fifty per cent of the compensation granted to home-built ships, while ship-builders

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are to be allowed to make contracts with the Government which will guarantee them the same subsidy as that which is to be enjoyed by vessels already constructed. No vessel is to be entitled to compensation unless at least one-fourth of her crew are citizens of the United States, or have declared their intention to become such; while bounties are provided for vessels and crews engaged in deep-sea fishing.

Arguments for and against the subsidy bill have been presented with such detail and cogency in the pages of THE FORUM that I shall not in this article either outline the measure more fully or discuss its merits. Suffice it to say that the bill as reported to the Senate and House limits the expenditure which can be made under its provisions to $9,000,000 a year, this limit having been determined upon to remove the principal objection of unknown cost which attached to the measure when first introduced.

The subsidy bill is purely a Republican proposition. Its chief sponsor is Senator Hanna, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, who has taken occasion in nearly every speech upon the stump to enlighten his audiences as to its provisions and to advocate its passage. His views have been accepted most cordially by his fellow Republicans in Congress; and the reports accompanying the bill, prepared by Senator Frye and Congressman Grosvenor, are lengthy and able arguments. By the passage of the bill the Republicans hope to revive the merchant marine to the position of eminence which it formerly held; and the likelihood is that the American people, taking a broad view, will approve the effort, despite the fact that the proposed legislation is in the nature of class benefit. The Republicans argue that in aiding the vessel owners they are indirectly helping to develop the entire country, which is undoubtedly true; but the fact remains that these owners will profit immensely by the enactment of the subsidy law, and they are bringing great pressure upon Congress to secure this result.

The House bill is buried deeply in an over-burdened calendar, and cannot be reached unless a special order for its consideration is enacted. It will remain with Speaker Henderson to decide whether this special order shall be granted, and the probability is that he will give his consent. The passage of the bill has been recommended by the Republicans in national convention assembled, so that in granting special privileges to the measure he will simply be executing the behest of his party. The special order which will obtain for the bill a hearing in the House will also arbitrarily fix a time at which a vote shall

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be taken; so that the passage of the measure in that body by the Republican majority may be considered as a fact already accomplished.

In the Senate, where different rules prevail, it will be in order for Mr. Frye at any time to move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the shipping bill, which question must be decided without debate. If it is supported by a majority, as it likely will be, the bill will be before the Senate. It would still be in the power of the Democrats to talk the bill to death; unlimited debate being a prerogative of the Senate. This fate might well be predicted for the bill if the next Congress were to be Democratic. As it is, opposition would be futile. Even should the passage of the measure be prevented during the short session, the Republicans would have before them another Congress of two years' duration, a length of time too extensive for even the Democrats successfully to cover with debate. The probability is that the Senators composing the Democratic minority will content themselves with uncovering what they consider to be the extravagances of the measure, and will then allow the matter to pass. Up to the present time no serious opposition to the passage of the subsidy bill has appeared on the Republican side. Only this hostility, not yet apparent, can prevent the enactment of the measure.

In the last session of Congress the Republicans attempted to secure the passage of a law providing for the permanent increase of the regular army to 100,000 men. This programme was blocked in the Senate by the Democratic minority, which compelled a compromise in the shape of a bill which allowed only 65,000 regular soldiers, and countenanced even this comparatively slight increase until July 1, 1901, only. In the campaign which has just closed, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency emphasized in almost every speech the danger of an increased standing army. "Militarism" was the concrete expression of this antagonism to the Republican programme, and it became a political catch-word. The result of the election shows that it failed to prove effective as a vote-getting agency.

As a natural consequence of the Republican victory we may expect to see the Administration's plan for an army of 100,000 men revived in the approaching session of Congress; and, as in the case of the subsidy bill, Democratic opposition may be aroused, but it will not avail, The Republicans will have every right to regard President McKinley's triumphant reëlection as an endorsement of all his policies and plans, among which the increase of the army is preeminent; nor do I believe that the American people will regard their

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endeavors to secure this increase as menacing the existence of the Republic. The standing army of 25,000 is too small for a nation of 76,000,000 people; and even 100,000 soldiers would be only one for every 760 citizens, a proportion which even the most peacefully disposed need not fear. With the enlargement of the army there will naturally come a reorganization of our military establishment along modern lines. Many tentative suggestions, some of them bearing the endorsement of the military experts in the War Department, have already been introduced in Congress.

The consideration of the army bill will naturally invite attention to the Philippines and to Cuba, the two foreign territories where the bulk of the army will be placed. No one, it seems to me, will agree with Mr. Bryan's suggestion that "the army is to be used to suppress by force the discontent which legislation ought to cure." The army will, however, be imperatively needed in the Philippines; and the Republicans, accepting the result of the election as an evidence that the American people propose to hold the Philippines permanently, will no longer disguise that fact. The present outlook is for indefinite trouble in our new oriental possessions, for it is scarcely credible that the struggle of the Filipinos for independence has so shallow a foundation as to be abandoned because Mr. Bryan has been defeated. It seems to me that we may expect a prolonged, though possibly a guerilla-like, warfare; but it is also equally apparent that the American people are quite willing to sit down and patiently play the game with Aguinaldo, conscious of ultimate victory.

In the meantime, however, it will be a question for the Republican leaders to decide whether they will allow the present anomalous condition of affairs to continue in the islands, or whether a territorial government shall be established through legislation, as has been done in Puerto Rico. The programme in the last session contemplated the passage of the bill introduced by Senator Spooner, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That when all insurrection against the sovereignty and authority of the United States in the Philippine Islands, acquired from Spain by the treaty concluded at Paris on the tenth day of December, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, shall have been completely suppressed by the military and naval forces of the United States, all military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the said islands shall, until otherwise provided by Congress, be vested in such person and persons, and shall be exercised in such manner, as the President of the United States shall direct for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of said islands in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.

Although this bill followed literally the statute under which Pres-

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ident Jefferson governed Louisiana, the Democrats served notice upon the Republicans that a serious attempt to enact it would provoke unlimited debate. The threat proved effective, and the session ended without a vote upon the measure. The measure served, however, as a text for a very large number of utterances upon the Philippine question, the whole subject being threshed over for campaign material. In fact, so numerous and exhaustive were the speeches that it is difficult to see how any new views can be presented during the session of Congress now about to begin; and yet I venture the prediction that the Philippines will continue to prove a most fruitful topic of controversy.

Much will depend upon the recommendations of the President in his annual message to Congress, the probability being that he will leave to the legislative branch of the Government full and free discretion in the matter of dealing with the islands. The declaration of the Republican national platform, which simply promises to the Filipinos that the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law, allows the widest latitude for the Republican majority in Congress. There may be no legislation at all. In fact, it would not be surprising if the party leaders should decide to allow the President to continue his present quasi-military control, through the Commission which is now in Manila. This will certainly be the case if the present unsettled condition in the islands continues. Every one agrees that self-government cannot be established until the Filipinos shall have become more civilized; and Congress will probably wait until the future is less misty before enacting experimental legislation. This would, indeed, seem the proper course to pursue. It certainly will be followed if the party leaders in Congress regard the recent election as a vote of confidence in the President.

Not only the Philippine problem, but the Cuban problem as well, will obtrude itself before Congress. Again we must look to the Republican national platform for some intimation as to the Republican programme in Congress. We find it declared that to Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and that to the letter this pledge should be performed. The President will probably inform Congress, in his annual message, that the first step toward independence has been taken through the partial withdrawal of American troops, and that the recent Cuban elections have been a successful experiment in the direction

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of self-government. Possibly, Congress will be content with this presentation of the case. At any rate, it is easy to imagine that, amid the multitude of subjects which will engross Congressional attention, it will not be difficult for the Republican leaders to overlook Cuba.

It is an open secret that many of these leaders do not favor the independence and self-government of Cuba. Some of them believe that Cuba offers a better field for financial and commercial exploitation if under the American flag; and others again doubt the wisdom of withdrawing our restraining hand, fearing lest the island should sink to the level of the South American republics, and become a constant irritant at our doors. At the same time, the Democratic minority, even though the campaign be over, may be expected to comment emphatically upon the causes leading to the Cuban scandals that have been so widely discussed. The probability is, however, that there will be much talk and little action, and that the future of Cuba will not be definitely determined during the approaching session.

When the House reassembles it will proceed to the consideration of the oleomargarine bill, which provides for a tax of ten cents a pound upon that article when it is colored to represent butter, and one-fourth of one cent a pound when it is not so colored. Important interests are involved in this proposed law. The dairymen of the country are supporting it, while the stock raisers and beef packers are opposing it, oleomargarine being a by-product of the packing house.

When this measure has been disposed of the Committee on Rules will formulate a programme in which must be included consideration for a bill reapportioning the Congressional districts of the United States under the census of the present year. In the discussion of this measure, the demand for reduced representation from the South, because of the suppression of the negro vote, will be asserted with much force.

At the other end of the capitol the Senate will promptly take up the Nicaragua Canal bill, which has already passed the House, and it ought to pass the former without delay; but the Hay-Pauncefote treaty is still pending, and will undoubtedly be used to delay action upon the canal bill.

In the Senate, as in the House, there is a legislative calendar crowded with measures of more or less importance, many of which

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should be enacted into law. They represent much laborious and thoughtful effort on the part of Congressional committees, but only a few of them are likely to be considered. Bills of a private nature, no matter how deserving, will meet the same fate.

The approaching session of Congress, doomed by law to expire on the fourth of next March, will contain only about eighty working days. Bulky appropriation bills must be passed in this limited period if an extraordinary session is to be avoided. Legislation of the highest importance must be enacted. It will be a busy and perhaps an eventful session. The Republicans, elated with success, will work under a full head of steam, while the Democrats will offer little or no resistance. There will be temptation to extravagance, to partisanship, to hasty law-making. In the flush of victory, caution and conservatism are apt to be forgotten; but the sagacious leader who counsels both will point to the Republican party the only safe pathway to continued power. HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

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THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE PROTECTIVE SYSTEM.

EARLY in 1898 the writer prepared an article in which the question of England's commercial supremacy was discussed. It was submitted to the editor of THE FORUM, who accepted it, and it made its appearance in this review in April, 1899.

The principal feature of that paper was its contention that the increasing cost of mining coal in Great Britain would soon place that country at a disadvantage in a competition with nations containing extensive measures which can be more cheaply worked. The prediction was made that "the present century will hardly be closed before we (the United States) shall enter the lists as a rival of England for this trade." The reader who follows his daily paper closely will perceive that the prophecy is being realized. The United States is now exporting coal to countries hitherto supplied by the United Kingdom; and the German trade press is unanimous in expressing the conviction that no expedients which may be resorted to by Germany can attract English coal, owing to its dearness, but that the field will remain open for American coal.

There is, however, no general disposition on the part of British writers to admit that the present condition is likely to prove a permanent one. On the contrary, many still prefer to lean on the geologists who assure them that at the present rate of consumption the coal measures of the United Kingdom still contain a supply which it will require three hundred years to exhaust. These optimists disregard the fact that it is not the extent of the coal measures, but the cost at which they may be worked, that will determine the result of a competitive contest. Obviously the mines of England, which have reached an enormous depth, cannot be worked as cheaply as those of the United States, which lie comparatively near the surface. This being the case, it will be conceded that if certain drawbacks which now attend the exportation of American coal are removed, the United States must in a brief period oust the British from many markets which they now possess; and unless the world's demand for fuel in-

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creases so rapidly that it will absorb the output at very high prices, we may look forward to a considerable diminution of coal exports from the United Kingdom in the very near future.

But it is not this phase of the subject that I wish to discuss. I desire, rather, to direct attention to the peculiar attitude of those critics who assume that the situation is not a serious one for Great Britain because they believe that there is no immediate danger of the exhaustion of the British coal measures. It is remarkable that this class of writers, all of them advocates of free trade, approach the subject from the standpoint of "after me the deluge." They express themselves as though the world were an affair of to-day, and as if its present inhabitants had a perfect right to disregard the future.

This extraordinary and entirely uneconomic attitude impressed me greatly, and suggested a line of investigation which disclosed the fact that it was wholly due to adherence to the utterly indefensible Cobdenistic theory that it is best to buy in the cheapest market. This alleged axiom is responsible for the wastefulness which attends the pursuit of trade in modern times. If we read the eulogies bestowed upon the nations that have achieved success in that commercial field described by Adam Smith as the "round-about-foreign trade," and note the stress laid upon the assumed effects of communication, we cannot help being struck by the singular failure of all classes of economists to point out that the one-sided development of the world's resources, which has been the most pronounced feature of external trade, must necessarily result in waste of human energy and the uncalled-for dissipation of immense quantities of coal—that great source of mechanical energy.

That this is true and that the Cobdenite assumption that it is wisest to buy in the cheapest market has stimulated this wasteful trade are, to my mind, self-evident. Yet the underlying economic error has hitherto met with almost universal acceptance. Even protectionists have assented to the idea that if the whole world could be persuaded to trade on terms professedly equal mankind would be benefited. They have failed to recognize that no system is economically defensible that promotes waste. They have been misled by specious arguments in which the fact has been obscured that present cheapness may mean permanent dearness. The glamour of the word "natural" has been over them and has prevented their realizing that the apparently natural method may be, and often is, the most costly one. In the beginning it requires a greater expenditure of human energy to

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dig a well than to go to a distant stream to procure water; but when the well has been provided there is a great saving.

The Cobdenites have asked the world to believe, and, singularly enough, many of its wise men have consented to do so, that mankind would be benefited by always going to a distant stream for water when the life-sustaining fluid might be obtained at the consumer's doors. They have taught that there would be a universal gain if the people living in the countries where great quantities of raw products and foodstuffs are produced would consent to devote themselves to their production, and allow people thousands of miles distant to convert them into finished articles, to be reshipped to consumers in the places where the raw materials originated.

This remarkable process they have actually succeeded in making themselves believe is an economic one. The writers of free-trade books are convinced that it is not wasteful to raise raw cotton in the United States and ship it over three thousand miles to Great Britain, or to countries on the continent of Europe, to be there manufactured into articles for consumption in the country in which the raw material was produced. They have satisfied themselves that there is no waste of human energy in transporting to distant lands raw materials which could be as easily worked up near the spot of production. They do not regard as wasteful the practice of moving immense quantities of foodstuffs to manufacturing countries deficient in them as well as in raw materials. And they utterly disregard the fact that these unnecessary processes result in the destruction of immense quantities of mineral fuel which, once consumed, can never be restored.

Views such as these are, to say the least, uneconomic. Fortunately for the world, however, while the theory that it is wisest to buy in the cheapest market has been accepted without qualification by scholars, practical statesmen in many countries have instinctively recognized that present dearness may mean ultimate cheapness, and have shaped their course accordingly. That the result of disregarding the free-trader's shibboleth has been to promote production will scarcely be denied by the most extreme advocates of the doctrines of the Manchester school. The latter, however, are not yet prepared to admit that this increased productiveness is an economic gain, despite the fact that it has been accompanied by all the circumstances that would testify to such a result having been achieved. But they will be compelled to do so in the near future. I am firmly persuaded that this is so, that in a very brief period it will be gen-

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erally acknowledged that "protection" has a sound economic basis, and that some day all external trade, excepting that in non-competing products, will be justly characterized as wasteful.

The views above expressed are so much at variance with those generally entertained that I have been impelled to elaborate them in a volume recently issued under the title of "Protection and Progress." The impulse to do so came while considering the singular character of the criticism to which THE FORUM article of April, 1899, was subjected in England. I had originally designed writing something in the nature of an historical sketch of the development of the protective policy, and had actually begun on those lines, when my attention was directed to the purely academic nature of the discussion in the United Kingdom, as in the colleges of our own country, and it dawned upon me that it would be impossible by the mere act of emphasizing the story of the progress in protectionist countries to make any adequate impression. I thought that unless protectionists could conclusively demonstrate that free trade of the kind advocated by British economists, if universally practised, must result injuriously, the wisdom of the protective policy would not be acknowledged. I felt also that something economically sound lay at the bottom of the impulse which led statesmen to deny by concrete action what they assented to as an abstraction. It seemed to me that if free trade, as defined by the British, were a sound economic doctrine, the fact would have forced general recognition in a shorter period than that during which it has been in operation in the United Kingdom. I deemed it incredible that the world could reject what could positively be shown to be beneficial, and accept what is harmful.

Whether consciously or unconsciously, protective nations have acted on the theory that creeping must precede walking. But it is doubtful if this feeling can endure long after a nation has passed the stage when the infant-industry argument has lost its force. Unless some better reason for the retention of the protective system can be given when such circumstances arise it must fall into disfavor. The reasonable assumption will be that the policy has served its purpose, that it has outlived its period of usefulness, and therefore should be swept aside. Unless it can be shown that protection has a sound economic basis it cannot survive. The child having learned to walk would disdain leading strings.

Protection has an economic basis. Its chief function is to eliminate waste of energy and wealth. In assisting in the creation of

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new industries in countries adapted to them it performs this function by conserving the former and preventing the dissipation of the latter. No refinement of logic can obscure the fact that it must be cheaper to manufacture near the spot where the raw material and the foodstuffs for subsisting operatives can be obtained than in countries remote from where the one and the other are produced. If in the past it has appeared that countries deficient in raw materials and foodstuffs were able to manufacture more cheaply than those well provided with raw and food products, it was because the countries with established industries had acquired skill and capital. These are purely artificial advantages, and no nation can have a monopoly of them. Application in new countries speedily results in the acquisition of the former and the amassing of the latter. The experience of the United States demonstrates this conclusively. The skill and wealth once having been acquired, there can be no question that their application on the spot of production will result in an enormous saving of human energy and of that great source of energy — coal.

It is obvious that there is but one method by which a country deficient in raw materials and food stuffs can hope to compete with a rival whose inhabitants possess abundant capital, are equally skilful, and who have in addition almost inexhaustible supplies of minerals and a practically unlimited capacity for the creation of raw and food products. That method is to diminish the wages of workers to a point below that for which the workers in the more favored country will consent to work. But success achieved by such means would not disguise the wastefulness of the process of unnecessarily hauling raw materials three thousand or more miles to be manufactured. It could not conceal the fact that this unnecessary transportation involves the expenditure of a vast quantity of human energy and the dissipation of enormous quantities of coal.

I believe that the facts which I have enumerated will ultimately receive general recognition, and that the prime importance of maintaining a system which will prevent the wasteful results of unrestricted competition will be admitted. When it is clearly seen that the attempt to secure temporary cheapness is not only attended with immediate wastefuless, but that it also threatens permanent dearness by hastening the extinction of the world's supply of mineral fuel, it will be no longer possible for economists to magnify the value of external trade. The trouble with Cobdenism is that it unduly extols trade. In any economic system the distributor must play an

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important part; but his rôle is, after all, only a secondary one. No scheme which elevates the middleman above the producer can be beneficial to mankind. Not all middlemen are useless; but Cobdenism does not distinguish between the useful and the useless ones. Its theory is that the unnecessary middleman performs as useful a function as the one really needed to forward the work of distributing.

The Cobdenite takes no note of the waste incurred. He fails to consider that when competition is carried to extremes it makes impossible the achievement of its object. He ignores the fact that the creation of an unnecessary transportation army and the augmentation of the number of useless middlemen of other kinds militate against real cheapness. He notes that production is on a greater scale than formerly, and he attributes it wholly to the effects of competition. He refuses to take into account that the hauling of a bushel of wheat from the plains of Dakota or the fertile valleys of California does not add to its value, although the consumer in England is obliged to pay twice as much for it as it is worth at the place of production, or that if it were consumed in feeding men employed in gainful occupations near the fields in which it was raised it would be conferring a greater benefit than it does at present. In short, he refuses to see that there is no economic excuse for the gathering of great masses of people in contracted areas destitute of resources sufficient to maintain them, and that there would be a positive economic gain by their dispersion.

In my opinion, the demonstration is conclusive that the free-trade policy, which stands for absolutely unrestricted international competition, if it could win, would result in continuous waste and ultimate dearness; while, on the other hand, it is equally plain that protection, by bringing producer and consumer together, is an eliminator of waste. Therefore, the latter is the system which must finally prevail.

JOHN P. YOUNG.

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CAN THERE EVER BE A CUBAN REPUBLIC?

THE answer to the question, Can there ever be a Cuban Republic? was given in 1859 by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations of the Thirty-fifth Congress, second session, when reporting "A bill making appropriations to facilitate the acquisition of Cuba by negotiation." The eminent gentlemen who formed that committee recognized that, as Spain could not long maintain her grasp on that distant colony, there were but *three possible alternatives* in regard to its future: (1) Possession by one of the great European powers; (2) the independence of the island; or (3) annexation to the United States.

With regard to the first the committee said that any attempt to consummate it would be resisted "by all the means in our power." With regard to the second the committee said:

> "This independence can only be nominal. It never can be maintained in fact. It will eventually fall under some protectorate, either open or disguised. If under ours, annexation will soon follow as certainly as the shadow follows the substance. An European protectorate could not be tolerated."

In respect to the third the committee said that if effected by war it would be too expensive, but if effected by negotiation its beneficial results, commercially, politically, and morally, would be immense.

This terse declaration of the American idea concerning Cuba introduced no novelty in the political programme mapped out in this respect by the American Government since 1809, when the thought of acquiring the island through the interposition of Napoleon was seriously entertained and considered.

On April 28, 1823, John Quincy Adams, as Secretary of State, declared:

> "There are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation. As an apple, when severed by the tempest from its native tree, cannot choose but fall to the ground, so Cuba, when forcibly disjoined from its own unnatural connection with Spain, and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only toward the North American Union, which by the same law of nature cannot cast her off from its bosom."

Mr. Adams' successor in the State department, who was a no

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less prominent American than Henry Clay, said (April 13, 1826) that he had "prevailed upon the governments of Colombia and Mexico to suspend any expedition which both or either of them might be fitting against the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico," and declared that as far as the American Government and the American interests were concerned the said islands "would be safe in the possession of Spain."

His successor, Martin Van Buren, said (Oct. 13, 1830): "We are content that Cuba should remain as it now is." And again, "Motives of reasonable State policy render it more desirable to us that it should remain subject to Spain rather than to either of the South American States." Such a man as John Forsyth, one of the successors of Mr. Van Buren, went so far in this policy as to say to the United States Minister in Madrid (July 15, 1840):

> "You are authorized to assure the Spanish Government that in case of any attempt, from whatever source, to wrest from her this portion of her territory (Cuba), she may securely depend upon the military and naval resources of the United States to aid her in preserving or recovering it."

And three years afterward (Jan. 14, 1843), upon information imparted — strange to say by the Duke of Wellington himself — of a British plot "to cause the Cubans to rise in insurrection against the Spanish Government," establish a republic, and abolish slavery, Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, reiterated and reaffirmed *verbatim* the assurance which John Forsyth had given Spain, as above stated.

What was the reason of this attitude? Were, peradventure, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, John Forsyth, Daniel Webster, and the eminent members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations of the Thirty-fifth Congress, second session, champions of despotism and sworn enemies of Cuban freedom and self-government? Were they actuated by any other feeling than that of their paramount duty to protect the interests of their own country, by preventing Cuba from becoming a source of uneasiness and danger to the American Union?

To propound this question is to answer it. The interest of the United States in the political condition of Cuba, both during the period which preceded the declaration by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in 1859 and in all the years that have since elapsed, has not been due to "any spirit of meddlesomeness, or any desire to force its will upon another nation," as the Secretary of State, Mr. Olney, explained to the Spanish Minister here (April 4, 1896), but

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upon considerations of all kinds, geographical, political, commercial, strategical, social, etc., which "compel it to be concerned in the solution of the Cuban problem, whether it will or no."

In his message to Congress of December 5, 1899, President McKinley said that Cuba is "bound to us by ties of singular intimacy and strength," and that "the destinies of Cuba are in some rightful form and manner irrevocably linked with our own." The year before (December 5, 1898), he had said also that "until there is complete tranquillity in the island, and a stable government inaugurated, military occupation will be continued."

Upon what ground can it be claimed that this sound traditional policy of the United States of America in regard to the island of Cuba, founded upon reasons of self-defence, shall now be changed into a new one, full of the same perplexities and dangers which American statesmen, ever since 1809, have been endeavoring to avoid? What solid reason can be alleged to demand from the United States, now, when, through the fortunes or misfortunes of war, they are in full possession of Cuba, that they should launch into the world a new sovereignty, exposed to foreign aggression, and one which, through alliance with any European nation, or compelled by it through belligerent action or diplomacy, might cause the whole work of American statesmanship for ninety-one long years to fall to the ground? What has happened since 1899 capable of persuading the United States Government that Cuban independence can now be maintained in fact, and that Cuba is no longer doomed to fall under a protectorate, ours or foreign, open or disguised?

The geographical position of Cuba, and the relations, whether commercial or strategical, which it forces imperatively between her and the United States, have not been changed. Havana is still the acknowledged key of the Gulf of Mexico, and the interests of our most important coastwise intercourse have not ceased to be compelled "to pass almost within hail of the Havana fortifications, and to run the gauntlet of their masters." What then could be sufficient to induce the United States to modify their traditional policy and to place themselves again, voluntarily, in the condition of danger and of anxiety with regard to Cuba in which they were placed for about a century?

The argument is made, however, that, under the joint resolution of Congress, approved by the President on April 20, 1898, we are bound to leave Cuba and to place the government thereof in the hands of her

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people. Should the contention stop here nothing, perhaps, could be said against it. That joint resolution, no matter how ill-advised and productive of mischief it may be, is a law; and as long as it stands unrepealed on the statute books of the United States it is binding upon the people and the Government of the United States.

But the contention does not stop there; it goes farther, claiming that the people in whose hands the government of Cuba is to be left by us when withdrawing from that island are the Cuban insurgents of 1895, the authors or organizers of the "Republic of Cuba," created on Sept. 16, 1895, by the Constitution of Jimaguayú, and reorganized on Oct. 29, 1897, by the Constitution of La Yaya. It claims also that in going to war with Spain, we practically and implicitly recognized the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents, above named, and consequently their flag and their organization; that we became the allies of the said insurgents; and that, as the Republic of Cuba has been entirely ignored by us, we have wrongfully "cancelled" the law and have "robbed the Cuban people of their freedom."

Were it not for the fact that an argument of this kind might promote and encourage among certain classes of the Cuban people the feeling of unrest and aversion which unfortunately they entertain at present against the United States, there would not be any need of paying any attention to it. But as the mischief it does is serious, an effort should be made to disprove it. The fact must be made clear to all intelligent people that by remaining in Cuba until a government, republican in form and truly democratic, is established by her people, her whole people, and not the insurgents of 1895 alone, under a constitution which should free the United States from all anxieties on that side, we are not "cancelling" our laws or "robbing" anybody of what belongs to him, but, on the contrary, we are fulfilling to the letter what the law commands.

That the joint resolution itself absolutely ignored the "Republic of Cuba," and refused alliance, connection, or relation with the Cuban insurgents, their flag or their organization, is fully shown by its language. Not a word of recognition of any of those things can be found in it; and the most earnest advocates of the "Republic of Cuba" have to content themselves with the groundless statement that the said recognition was made "practically" and "implicitly."

True it is that when the joint resolution was read for the third time, put to a vote, and passed in the Senate ("Congressional Rec-

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ord," April 16, 1898, pages 4386 and 4387) its first article was couched in the following language:

"First—That the people of the island of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent, and that the Government of the United States hereby recognizes the Republic of Cuba as the true and lawful Government of that island."

But it is true also that on the 16th of April, 1898, when the resolution thus passed by the Senate was taken up by the House, the latter body, on motion of Mr. Dingley of Maine, decided to strike out of the first article all that was written in it after the word "independent." And as the House insisted upon its amendment, and as the Senate finally concurred in it, the result was the adoption of the resolution without the slightest recognition or mention of, or allusion to, the Republic of Cuba or the Cuban insurgents.

If the Congress of the United States, by deliberately striking out the words, "The Government of the United States hereby recognizes the Republic of Cuba as the true and lawful Government of that island," meant to make an "implicit and practical recognition" of the same republic, its flag and its followers, the rules of logic and of grammar would be thoroughly revolutionized. To refuse a thing would be tantamount to granting it; and negative assertions could logically be turned into affirmative ones.

As to our "alliance" with the insurgents, it would be well to remember the language which President McKinley himself used in this respect. After proving exhaustively that the Cuban insurgents were not entitled to recognition as belligerents, and much less as an independent people, he said:

"Nor from the standpoint of expediency, I think, would it be wise or prudent for the Government to recognize at the present time the independence of the so-called Cuban Republic. Such recognition is not necessary in order to enable the United States to intervene and pacify the island. To commit the country now to the recognition of any particular government in Cuba might subject us to embarrassing conditions of international obligation towards the organization so recognized. In case of intervention our conduct would be subject to the approval or disapproval of such government. We would be required to submit to its direction, and to assume to it the mere relation of a friendly ally."

They are not friends of Cuba, nor are they friends of the United States, who torture the language of the joint resolution of Congress approved on April 20, 1898, into any kind of recognition of a "government," which at no time, as President Cleveland said, was more than "putative," and which, when created on paper, was created exclusively, as acknowledged by one, and perhaps the ablest, of its organizers, to enable the latter to contract obligations in the name

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of Cuba, and to give validity to bonds, concessions, contracts, and promises issued or entered into by them.

The friends of Cuba, interested in the welfare of that beautiful and interesting island, which in the hands of the United States would be a perfect paradise, instead of sowing distrust and promoting and encouraging aspirations which can never be realized, should strive, on the contrary, to help the Cuban problem to be solved in the only way which is possible and natural, and the only way which can be satisfactory to all the parties concerned, namely, by making the connection between Cuba and the United States of America organic and permanent. No Cuban who has a dollar or desires to make it honestly aspires to any other thing; and those among the insurgents of 1895 who know what they are talking about concur in this opinion. No man has ever expressed himself more strongly in this sense than the one who was President of the so-called "Republic of Cuba," in the letter which he wrote from Cubitas to the "New York Times," which is reprinted in full on page 127 of Mr. Halstead's "Story of Cuba." He said:

> "Cuba is properly American, as much as is Long Island, and I believe there can be but one ultimate disposition of it—to be included in the great American sisterhood of States."

Has any one better right to speak for the "Republic of Cuba" and for the insurgents of 1895 than the venerable Marquis of Santa Lucía, Salvador Cisneros y Betancourt, who sacrificed all things upon the altar of his country and signed his name to those words?

J. I. Rodriguez

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PROGRESS IN PENOLOGY.

Does the world move? That is the question we ask ourselves at the close of the century. In the wide realm of science and invention there is a ready response. It comes in the click of the telegraph, the voice of the telephone, the scream of the locomotive, the whirr of the electric car, and the flash of the electric light. In some lines of moral effort it may be difficult to answer the question; but in the realm of penology we can make our response without hesitation at the close of the nineteenth century. There is no department of science, whether physical or social, in which progress is more evident. It is progress in the development of principles and ideals, and it is advancement in their realization.

It is only in the century just closing that we have come to reap the fruit of the work of John Howard and of Beccaria in the last century, the first eminent for his influence in the reformation of prisons and the latter for his influence on criminal procedure and criminal law. Each of these men worked independently and alone. The era of organization was to come later. Organization has been most influential and effective in the last thirty years; and it is largely through its influence that national and international sentiment has been developed and unity of purpose and aim secured. Through the communication which such organization has established, the data it has collected, the comparisons it has furnished, we are able to gauge the progress which the world has made in treating the problems of crime and in dealing with the criminal.

The International Prison Association has just held its sixth quinquennial session at Brussels. It has been organized thirty years. Some 395 members were present, and some twenty-nine countries were represented by official delegates. Its existence was due primarily to the initiative of an eminent American penologist, the late Rev. E. C. Wines, and to the official encouragement and support given to the enterprise by the Government of the United States. Dr. Wines was not the first to secure international consideration of penological

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problems. As early as 1846 several eminent penologists of Europe, among them Aubanel, Ducpetiaux, and Mittermaier, organized a congress of persons in different countries interested in the prevention of crime and in the study of penological questions. The congress was held in Frankfort-on-the-Main in that year, in Brussels in 1847, and again in Frankfort in 1857. These congresses were due entirely to private initiative and activity. No governments were officially represented, and they were not organized on a permanent basis. Dr. Wines was able, however, to unite private interest and activity with official power and influence. Both are necessary in a work of this kind. Official responsibility is necessary to give practical effect to reforms and also to check the extravagance of irresponsible sentimentalism; and private interest and activity are necessary to overcome the general inertia of officialism toward reforms and innovations. Dr. Wines was fortunate in securing the coöperation of the heads of Governments, of the directors of prison administration, and of some of the most prominent criminalists in Europe.

At the first Congress, held in London in 1871, twenty governments were represented. Then it became necessary to insure the life of the congress and to provide for its continued activity. This was done by the establishment of a permanent commission, composed of a representative from each government subscribing to its constitution and also to its treasury. The International Prison Commission, which is the executive and permanent arm of the Congress, endeavors to maintain some relation not only between the governments which are united for this object, but between experts in every land. Valuable as are the quinquennial meetings and discussions, a phase of its work still more valuable is the preparation of reports by experts and competent writers, in different countries, concerning questions and problems submitted by the Commission. It is thus able to secure the coöperation of a large number of experts who are not able to attend the Congress in person. These reports, based on official information and special investigation, furnish reliable data and indicate tendencies of thought, effort, and experiment. The conclusions of the Congress when formulated, if not decisive as to the questions treated, are influential and important in relation to both theory and practice. No organization has had so much influence upon the penal system of Europe.

La Société Générale des Prisons of France is another organization which in the last twenty-five years has promoted the development

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of penology in France as well as in surrounding countries. The International Union for Comparative Criminal Law also grew out of the International Prison Congress. Criminal anthropology has created another international organization, in which the new school of criminologists, prominent now in Italy, is largely represented. On the side of applied philanthropy there is also in Europe an international organization of Prisoners' Aid Societies.

In the United States organizations for the improvement of prisons began in the last century. The Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons was organized in 1787, and the Pennsylvania Prison Society of to-day is the offspring of that society. New York, Maryland, and Massachusetts have State organizations for inspecting prisons, guiding legislation, and aiding discharged convicts. The National Prison Association, organized in 1870, has been in active operation during the last sixteen years and is the heir of earlier efforts. It succeeds in bringing together annually the prison wardens, the prison chaplains, the members of State boards of control, the prison commissioners of different States, professors of sociology, and students of penology.

These organizations, State, national, and international, like medical societies, local and general, are agencies for effecting and recording progress in that branch of moral surgery and therapeutics called penology. It is as true there as it is in medicine that an individual like Howard or Brockway, Elizabeth Fry or Ellen C. Johnson, can accomplish what no organization can effect; but it is equally true that organization is necessary to promulgate and diffuse and introduce in general practice the ideas, methods, and principles developed or applied by the individual theorist or practitioner. While they grapple actively with the problems of crime these organizations have a retrospect and a history. They furnish records of accumulated experience and discussion. We can trace the history of penal surgery as readily as abdominal surgery. The International Prison Commission is most important of all in furnishing a viewpoint from which we may see the winding, upward trail.

If there is one thing on which penologists the world over are fully agreed, it is in demanding a certain standard of physical condition as the test of a civilized prison. It is not a standard of comfort or luxury, but a standard of light, cleanliness, food, ventilation, and other sanitary conditions for the prisoner, and a certain standard of security for society. This standard is by no means universally realized, but it is

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generally accepted. The traveller in Rome is shown the Mamertine prison, a wretched, dark, dank dungeon, and the Tullian pit below it. He is shown the dungeons under the ducal palace at Venice, and still worse the fearful hole in the castle at Rothenburg, where the prisoner literally died for want of breath. These, like the terrible instruments of torture at Nuremburg, are historical curiosities. They remind us of a time when imprisonment was but a prolongation of the torture which formed a part of criminal procedure. The wretched condition of things which Howard found in the English prisons was duplicated with few exceptions on the Continent. They were badly built, shockingly dirty, overcrowded, dens of darkness and filth in which prisoners were promiscuously huddled. They had their counterpart in this country. It is not necessary to go into details. Some of them here were so insecure that the wonder is that any prisoner would consent to stay in them. Superintendent Scott, of Concord, Mass., tells of a New England prison from which a convict escaped. When asked how he got out he replied that he fell out. Mr. Scott relates that in Nantucket, Mass., one of the prisoners, thinking he had a special grievance, sent word to the jailer that if the jail was not mended so as to prevent sheep from coming into his cell and disturbing him at night, he should leave.

Such prisons were neither comfortable for society nor for the prisoner. They were in all cases either hells of horror or mockeries and parodies of restraint and security. We shudder at some of them, we laugh at others, but the enlightened sentiment of the age repudiates them all. If the traveller wants to know what Italy used to think as to prisons, he may go to the Mamertine and to the palace of the doges; but if he asks what Italy thinks to-day, let him go to Regina di Cœli, in Rome, or to the new prison at Genoa, or visit the Reformatory at Pisa, conducted by De Sanctis, or that at Tivoli. Here he will find some of the best built and best conducted prisons in Europe. If he is in France he may leave the Conciergerie and go to Fresnes, to see what France regards as the model prison of the nation. In Belgium he will find hardly any of the old, but everywhere the new, ideas of separation and cleanliness. In Berlin he may visit Plotzensee and Moabit; in Baden, the admirable institutions at Freiburg; in Switzerland, the prison at Lenzbourg; in Holland, prisons at Arnheim and Amsterdam; in England, Portsmouth; in Scotland, Peterhead; in Ireland, the prisons at Cork and Dublin.

All these prisons in Europe, and the United States, and many

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others which might be mentioned if this were a catalogue, show the great advance which has been made in the last fifty years. In Howard's time prisoners were thrown promiscuously together — men and women, the sick and the well, old and young, insolvent debtors and hardened criminals. Howard demanded the reduction of physical suffering, the separation of the sexes, and a better classification of prisoners. It has been well said that in a century after Howard the civilized world has embodied in its penitentiary systems nearly all the improvements demanded by him, and that in some respects it has even gone beyond what he asked.

I do not mean that Howard would have no opportunity to renew his complaint to-day, for there are a great number of jails in this and other countries which are far below the moral and physical standard he set. It takes a long time to grow out of old conditions. It costs money to build new prisons, and this is often grudgingly voted; but the new institutions are generally built on modern principles. Modern prison inspection is an outgrowth of the influence and example of Howard. When the light of publicity has been turned upon evil conditions we have taken the first step toward remedying them. There is no general agreement as to the best form of prison structure. The separate system, originally borrowed from the United States, has been accepted as the ideal in Belgium, France, and some other countries. In the United States the system of congregate labor by day with cellular separation at night has been adopted in nearly all the best prisons and reformatories. These divergences are differences of method, not differences of standard: and it still remains true that the civilization of a people can now be told quite as well by its prisons as by its picture galleries, its schools, or its churches.

The absolute necessity of labor as a remedial agent, both physical and moral, is universally recognized by all penologists. Those who are most positive in their convictions on this subject are the prison wardens. They have found that the hardest prison to conduct, with reference to the physical and moral welfare of the prisoners, is one in which the men languish in idleness, leading to insanity and bodily degeneration. The sentence to a penitentiary "with hard labor" has an aspect of severity which is misleading. Although labor is sometimes believed to be a curse, as a fact it is a divine blessing — a necessary element in all development, a condition of moral and physical health. The cruelty is not in the sentence to hard labor, but in a sentence to isolation without it. No principle of prison admin-

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istration is better established than that which insists on a sufficient amount of labor. There is a vast difference between the mental and moral effect of labor which is productive or educative and that which is simply aimless drudgery. A serious defect of the English prison system was the use for a long time of the treadmill and the crank. A man was set to turn a fly-wheel with a register attached which recorded the number of revolutions. His task perhaps was ten thousand turns a day. There was no danger that this drudgery would compete with any labor outside, but it made the man a part of the machine he turned. From the standpoint of political economy, it was foolish to waste in this way a man's energy which might have been turned to the advantage of the state or to the advantage of the man or his family. A thorough investigation by a parliamentary commission, about five years ago, condemned this fruitless labor, and it is now abolished. The report of the United States Industrial Commission on the subject of prison labor, submitted to Congress last spring, says: "Every interest of society and consideration of discipline, economy, reformation, and health demands that prisoners should be kept employed at productive work. Manufacturers, wage-earners, and all who have given the subject any consideration are practically unanimous in this conclusion."

Unfortunately, reckless legislation has greatly interfered with the natural and healthful operation of the system of productive prison labor in the United States, and largely because of a groundless fear as to the extent of competition of prison labor with free labor. It is desirable, of course, to reduce such competition to the minimum; and this can be done by varying the industries and by forbidding the products of prison labor from being sold at less than regular market rates. It cannot be regarded as a step forward, but rather as a step backward, that the Industrial Commission should have reported in favor of a Federal law interdicting inter-state commerce in all goods, minerals, or materials in whole or in part the product of convict labor. Two of the Commissioners dissent from the conclusions of the report.

While the necessity of labor is theoretically accepted, the fact remains that, partly owing to culpable negligence, and partly owing to a misguided agitation against prison labor, there is a deplorable amount of idleness in American jails and prisons. In most of our jails idleness is the rule rather than the exception, and in many prisons, notably those of Pennsylvania, restrictive labor laws have seriously interfered with the employment of prisoners and thus with

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an element necessary for their reformation. In this respect, progress in penology is seen rather in theory than in practice.

A general improvement in the personnel of prison officials and administrators is evident in Europe and in this country. The early traditional warden, like the slave driver, was chosen for his physical preëminence. He is chosen to too great an extent in the United States for his political skill or service. But the great improvement in the sentiment of the prison wardens of this country is shown in the unanimity with which, in common with prison reformers outside, they demand that prison administration shall be taken out of politics. In some States changes are made among prison superintendents and subordinate officers with every change in political control. In Massachusetts prison officials are brought under the civil service law, with the best possible results. In Europe the prisons have been taken wholly out of politics, permanence of tenure has been secured, and provision has been made for systematic instruction. Whatever the system employed in any prison, the personal character of the warden is a great force in discipline and reformation. The profession of prison warden is an exacting one; but men of the highest ability, men who could administer great industries and lead armies, men of force, magnetism, and — like the prison director in Spielhagen's "Hammer and Anvil" — of silent, mysterious moral power, may be found among prison directors to-day. Formerly the warden was considered as a cog or a wheel in the administrative machinery, but not as a part of the motive power. Influence had to be brought to bear upon the warden as upon the prisoner to secure prison reforms; but I venture to say that in the practical administration of prisons the wardens have contributed more to the development of their own profession than any legislative or external influence. There are prison superintendents in the United States, as abroad, who, in all that pertains to the theory, philosophy, and practical application of penological science, stand at the very front. Who since the days of Howard has been able to give to the reformative idea such a far-reaching impulse as Mr. Z. R. Brockway? Men like McClaughry, Wright, Nicholson, Scott, Chamberlain, Hatch, Wolfer, Garvin, and others in the United States, represent the new spirit, the new method, and the new ideal in penology.

In this new spirit and new ideal among our superintendents nothing is more characteristic than the unshaken confidence that prisoners are capable of reformation, and that this is one object of their im-

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prisonment. Prison governors are not rose-water sentimentalists. They cannot be accused, as are prison reformers outside, of being visionary and of not knowing the material with which they have to deal. They are students of men. They have seen the normal and the abnormal man in every phase. They are brought face to face with the fact that the average age of criminals runs not much above 22 or 23. They have learned to make a distinction between occasional offenders and habitual criminals. They know the repeaters, sodden in evil habits; they know the good timber from the bad, and can generally take its measure as a practised woodman can measure the trees in a forest. The experienced and enlightened warden knows that fully half of his prisoners are about as good as the same number of people outside who have been brought up in the same circumstances and with the same restricted opportunities for education and development. Hence, many modern wardens have reached the conclusion that a house of correction ought to be a house which corrects; that every prison should be able to furnish that discipline of will, that education of mind, hand, and character, which the prisoner failed to get before going to prison, and which, if he had received it, would have kept him out of it. Let any one read the proceedings of the National Wardens' Association for the last ten years, and he will find that its members have not merely occupied themselves with the details of prison management, but that they have reached conclusions as to the possibilities of convicts which are of the highest value, because derived from long observation and experience. These and other papers show that our prison wardens are not pessimistic. Experience has taught them not to be too extravagant in hope, but it has also taught them to have confidence in the capacities of men when brought under the steady pressure of educative influences.

There are prison directors who have been compelled by law and public sentiment to conduct their prisons as they would a great factory; the test of success being the amount of money they can make for the State in a year. There is no necessary conflict between productive labor and the welfare of the prisoner if the money-making idea is not carried too far; but in asking if a prison pays the answer must not be sought in the ledgers alone. The value of a prison system is judged to-day not merely as a social quarantine, to protect society by removing elements dangerous to its health, but by its capacity to reform those committed. A prison which makes recidivists, as undoubtedly many prisons have done, does not protect society.

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In the last century the retributive and punitive idea was predominant in prison discipline; to-day the reformative idea is clearly coming into the ascendancy. The introduction of common schools, of trade schools, libraries, prison journals, lectures, and societies clearly indicate the modern tendency. A prison is and ought to be an educational institution. That word education, however, must not be interpreted by the three R's alone, but in its broader relation to character and capacity. In Europe the reformative spirit is being applied to the cellular system, but in Italy there are reformatories in which the limitations of the cellular system have given way to structures much better adapted to social development. In the United States the influence of the Elmira Reformatory has been felt throughout the country. It has been copied in some States, and its ideas and methods have been applied with success to penitentiaries and State prisons. The extension of the reformatory system from juveniles to adults is the most characteristic movement in American penology.

Under the retributive idea the prisoner simply endured the punishment which was meted out to him. In common parlance, he "paid the penalty," from which there was no discount. The more modern idea is to make the prisoner an agent in effecting his own release. It has become an established practice in nearly all civilized countries to allow the prisoner to earn a reduction of his sentence by his good behavior. In its simplest and commonest form this conditional liberation is awarded on the observance by the prisoner of a code of prison rules which are simple and lenient. There are no grades of conduct: the prisoner is either good or bad. His sentence is not shortened in proportion to his conduct, but in proportion to its original length; the reduction may be one-fourth or it may be one-third. A prisoner is sentenced for six years, but the law says: If you are good you may get out in four. The great majority of prisoners are "good," and few fail to earn this commutation. It is a common observation of prison wardens that the prisoners who are worst out of jail are often the best behaved men within.

The principle of conditional liberation when thus framed and applied is crude and insufficient, but it has great significance because it marks the transition from the old conception to the new. To remit any part of a penalty because of the conduct of the prisoner is to make an appeal to his conception of self-interest. The only ethics in his "goodness" are of a purely utilitarian order. He finds himself in a community of offenders as well as under a system of rules and laws

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which are so rational that it is of no advantage to him to break them. He promptly discovers that it will not pay to violate rules if by keeping them he can not only avoid immediate punishment, but can also gain a future reward. Ethically it may be a small gain weighed in the scale of motives; but practically it is of great importance for the protection of society when a man decides that it does not pay him to violate law. There is something gained, too, when a prisoner learns to consider the effect of his conduct on his own welfare two or three years ahead. But the "good time" laws are only the beginning of a rational system of conditional liberation.

The parole system, as it has been applied and developed in many States, is a distinct advance. Prisoners are required either to serve out half of their sentences, as in Virginia and Connecticut; or one-third, as in Alabama and Idaho; or one year, as in California; or the minimum time prescribed by law for the offence, as in Ohio; or no prescribed period, as in certain States, and, on the recommendation of the prison authorities, may be paroled by the Board of Prison Commissioners, the Governor, the Board of Pardons, or some designated central authority. The parole is granted only when there is good evidence that it is safe to release the prisoner, and in most States only on satisfactory assurance that employment is secured for him; and he is required to report at regular intervals to the officers of the institution. Under the "good time" laws the release of the prisoner is finally dependent on his behavior while in prison; under the parole system his behavior outside the prison is under surveillance of the prison authorities until the expiration of the full period of his sentence, and he may be returned at any time for the violation of his parole. This tentative release is of the greatest value in its restraining effect on the prisoner. It has also proved to be of value in reducing the evils of the pardon abuse, under which prisoners were released through the pressure of personal and political influence.

There is still another form of conditional liberation. It is known as the indeterminate sentence. Under this law the prisoner is not sentenced for a definite period. There may be a minimum or a maximum period fixed by the judge, as in sentences to the Massachusetts State prison, or there may be no minimum, and the maximum may be the longest period prescribed by law for the offence. The prisoner is to be released only after he has earned a certain number of marks, and then on the same conditions as to employment and good behavior as apply to the parole law. The theory of the indeterminate sentence

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supposes that a prisoner, like a patient in a hospital, is not to be released until he is cured or convalescent. No physician other than a quack would undertake to say how long an insane patient will have to remain at an asylum before being pronounced convalescent, and no judge can tell on sentencing a prisoner just how long he will need to be detained in prison before it will be safe to release him. In the case of a dangerous malefactor, as of a dangerous crank, the welfare of society is of some consequence. It is illogical and absurd to release a madman or a criminal when there is every reason to believe that he will immediately make an onslaught upon society. And there is no good end to be attained by detaining him after he has proved by his record that he is fit to be at large. It is not the judges, but the officers of the institutions to which they are committed, who are most competent to pronounce upon the fitness of the prisoners to be released. The sentence is not for a certain duration of punishment, or to impose a certain degree of suffering, but for a new environment and a new régime. It may be a painful environment and a severe régime, and to that extent it imposes suffering, and to that extent it may also be deterrent; but it is not purely retributive.

The indeterminate sentence is illogical and non-effective unless combined with a reformatory system. If a prisoner's release is to depend on the character he develops and the record he makes, some opportunity must be given to him to outgrow his past. He must be surrounded with influences which call out the best that is in him. His path is not to be smooth; it is to be made rough; no flowery bed of ease for him. His brain, his body, and, above all, his will must be taxed, not to exhaustion, but to invigoration. The grading system in which he is placed is a ladder by which he can rise or from which he may fall; his tasks are hard, but they are man-making tasks. Though differently organized and adjusted and conditioned, it is the régime of the school and the gymnasium; it is a régime which educates. The prisoner is deprived of opportunities for self-indulgence, but is given what he needs for self-development. He is not punished for what he has been; he is to prove by labor, study, and good behavior what he is and may be. The indeterminate sentence, though not accepted fully by European penologists, is accepted by a majority of the penologists of the United States. The late Charles Dudley Warner was an earnest advocate of this idea.

While theoretically sentences are still imposed for their deterrent effect, and many judges seem to think this to be the most important

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feature in a sentence, as a matter of fact we have moved far away from the early conception of a deterrent sentence. The most remarkable change is seen in the comparative infrequency with which capital punishment is imposed in our day. In the time of Queen Elizabeth it was a capital crime to steal a handkerchief or anything worth a shilling from the person of another or to steal five shillings' worth from a shop. At the beginning of this century it was still a capital crime for an Egyptian to reside one year in England, or for a person to injure Westminister Bridge, or to wound cattle, destroy trees, break down the banks of rivers, or send threatening letters. Sheep-stealing ceased to be a capital offence in 1832; breaking into a house was removed from the list of capital offences in 1833. Sacrilege and the theft of letters were exempted in 1835. Yet, until 1837 there were still thirty-seven capital offences on the English statute books. The number has been reduced to two, murder and treason. Hanging in chains and the pillory have also been abolished. Farrar states that in Holland it was once a capital offence to kill a stork, and in England to cut down a man's cherry-tree. Beccaria spoke of the useless prodigality of punishments. The statistics of crime in England conclusively prove that extreme punishments have been of little effect in the prevention of crime. Though the population has multiplied, the severity of punishments been reduced, and the vigilance of the police greatly increased, the number of convictions has steadily diminished. The experience of England and of every other country shows that it is not to deterrent laws, but mainly to preventive means, that we must look for a decrease in crime. At the recent International Prison Congress at Brussels great emphasis was laid upon this.

The present century has been marked also by various improvements in criminal procedure. There is less delay in civilized countries in bringing offenders to trial. Torture as a means of extracting information from a witness passed away in the last century, largely due to the crusade against it led by Beccaria.

There is another form of deterrent sentence which has already vindicated its wisdom and utility. It is the new practice of suspending the sentence instead of executing it. When a judge imposes an extremely heavy sentence upon a prisoner he often justifies himself on the ground that it will be a warning to other evildoers; but the prisoner himself gets no advantage of the deterrent quality. He is an object lesson to somebody else. If, on the other hand, a prisoner is

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tried and condemned, and the sentence, instead of being executed immediately, is held over him as a menace, it becomes an immense restraining force. This is the natural purpose and actual effect of the probation system, as it is called, in this country, and of the system of suspended sentence, embodying the same idea, applied also to first offenders in France and Belgium, and, under different conditions, in England. If the parole law can be applied with benefit to men on leaving prison, may not the same principle be applied to prevent them from getting into prison altogether? Experience has shown that in a vast number of cases the influences that are needed to correct or reform a first offender may be secured without sending him to prison at all. Where the reformatory, with its rigid discipline and unrelenting pressure is certainly necessary, for many offenders, there are other cases in which it is simply necessary to exhibit the whip instead of applying it. The needed conditions for reformation can be secured outside the prison walls.

The system of probation was established by law in Massachusetts in 1878. It had early been applied to juveniles; it was then extended to adults. It has been since adopted in Belgium and in France. Under various forms the suspended sentence has been adopted in New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Missouri, Minnesota, Mississippi, and Vermont. In some cases it simply puts the prisoner on parole, or it discharges him with the sentence, like the sword of Damocles, hanging over his head. But, as developed in Massachusetts, an important feature is the appointment of a probation officer by each municipal, police, and district court. It is the duty of such officers to investigate all cases of first offenders and to report to the judges the result. If released on their recommendation, the probationer is still under surveillance, which is both friendly and advisory. In a statement made in Paris last summer, at the Congress of Aid Societies, M. Monis, the Minister of Justice, said that only five in a hundred of those who received the benefit of probation had fallen back and been recommitted. The number of probationers amounts in France to 24,000 a year. It is the salvation of many individuals to keep them out of prison, and besides the saving to the State financially is considerable. "Imprisonment is an expensive system," says Mr. W. F. Spalding, of Massachusetts. He calculates that the 5,626 persons taken on probation in a year in Massachusetts would have served at least three months, and as on this basis their aggregate imprisonment would have amounted to 1,406 years, the saving in

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the expense of imprisonment amounted to $70,300. The cost of the work was less than $59,000; thus saving more than $11,000.

It was argued against probation that it would weaken the general deterrent effect of law. The facts prove the contrary. In France, as M. Monis showed, the number of first offenders has diminished ten thousand in ten years.

The treatment of the criminal insane from a medical rather than a penal standpoint is a marked feature of advance in penology. The whole judicial procedure of civilized countries has been modified by the necessity of determining the question of responsibility. If an accused person is adjudged to have been insane before the offense was committed the act is not regarded as criminal, and he is sent to an insane asylum. A prisoner who becomes insane after committal to prison is likewise transferred to an asylum. But the objection to receiving insane criminals in hospitals organized for those who are not criminals, combined with the necessity for greater restraint, has led to the establishment of special quarters for the insane in prisons and to other special asylums. Such asylums now exist in New York, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Illinois, as well as in Canada, Saxony, Baden, Hungary, England, Belgium, Norway, and Italy.

The old theory of penal law was to affix a penalty to a forbidden act and to enforce it without much regard to the condition of the offender. In these days his condition is a question of prime importance. From the study of crime, pathologists and sociologists have turned to the study of the criminal. It is too soon to speak of positive results in the department of criminal anthropology. The studies of Lombroso, Ferri, and others open new lines of inquiry and raise new problems. We may expect fruitful results in the prevention of crime from the study of the history and environment of offenders.

In the important work of distinguishing between habitual and occasional criminals, the anthropometric system of Bertillon is recognized as a sure means of identifying any person who has been measured and recorded under this method. Let a person be arrested in any part of France, and in a few minutes it can be ascertained at Paris whether he has ever been arrested before. The system has been adopted in London and in some cities of our own country; but to coördinate the information a central bureau should be established by the Government as a measure for public protection.

The close of the century is signalized by a notable step taken by Russia in abolishing deportation as a part of her penal system, with

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the exception of a small penal colony for political and habitual offenders. This is a step long contemplated by Russia, and now determined upon after the most positive evidence of the evils of deportation to Siberia. Russia is about to make provision in prisons for 14,000 more prisoners; and she has appropriated $3,520,000 for the new buildings which must be erected for the 8,000 who cannot be accommodated in existing prisons. This new step by Russia marks the practical abandonment of transportation by all civilized countries with the exception of France, which still supports penal colonies; but the latter are secondary features of the French system.

If asked to sum up in a paragraph the most important indications of progress in penology, the representatives of different schools would undoubtedly differ; but speaking as a student of tendencies, principles, and results, and not as the exponent of a school, I should say that progress in the century just closed is evident in the following points: (1) The higher standard of prison construction and administration; (2) the improved personnel in prison management; (3) the recognition of labor as a disciplinary and reformatory agent; (4) the substitution of productive for unproductive labor, and to a small degree requited for unrequited labor; (5) an improvement in prison dietaries; (6) new and better principles of classification; (7) the substitution of a reformatory for a retributory system; (8) probation, or conditional release for first offenders, with friendly surveillance; (9) the parole system of conditional liberation, found in its best form in the indeterminate sentence as an adjunct of a reformatory system and as a means for the protection of society; (10) the Bertillon system for the identification of prisoners; (11) the new attention given to the study of the criminal, his environment and history; (12) the separation of accidental from habitual criminals; (13) the abandonment of transportation; (14) the humane treatment of the criminal insane, the improvement in criminal procedure, with more effective organization in relief and protective work and in the study of penological problems; and (15) the new emphasis laid upon preventive, instead of punitive or merely corrective, measures.

S. J. Barrows.

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THE EDUCATION OF THE MILLIONAIRE.

"We must educate our masters" was the favorite observation of an English liberal half a century ago. We must educate our leaders could be said with equal truth by Americans to-day. If the statement made by Mr. Thomas Nelson Page, in his recent address at Concord, that not more than fifty thousand people of the American public were at all interested or concerned in the life of Newport, the subject would perhaps not be worth further public discussion. But as fifty million would probably be an under-estimate of those who are interested in the life there, or whose lives are influenced, directly or indirectly by that life, it comes properly within the class of public questions, and one that now needs further serious public discussion.

As long as we continue to live under the régime of private property and inherited wealth the "multis" of Newport will be our social leaders. Their example will be felt throughout all classes. They will give the tone to manners and morals in our country as much as a prince and his court do in any country of Europe. The indictments of the Rev. Dr. Hamblin and Mr. Page for their conduct, with the replies of the various prominent Newport leaders, have brought the case into court. The alleged wrong-doer, the "multi," is now at the bar of public opinion. The declarations of Dr. Hamblin and Mr. Page, however, do not, in my opinion, go at all into the merits of the case. Dr. Hamblin evidently saw Newport with the eye of one of his seventeenth-century Puritan ancestors. Playing croquet and tennis on Sunday cannot to-day be taken as serious offences. Mr. Lecky in his recent work, "The Map of Life," has reminded us how much the point of view has changed in criticising moral conduct. The question in this age is not whether we are living in accordance with dogmas, but how much positive good or ill we are accomplishing as social beings.

The comments of Mr. Page that have attracted most attention, viz., (1) the arrogance of the Newport leaders; (2) that society there is composed of divorced and doubly divorced individuals; and (3)

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that not more than fifty thousand people in America know or care for their proceedings are severally immaterial and incorrect.

Arrogance is certainly not the prevailing tone of manners there. No doubly divorced person is identified with Newport society; and the implication that there is immorality there is a most unfair one. This may be for the ignoble reason that the people are too busy with their trappings and their toys; but it is true, nevertheless, as one of their defenders has said, that they are more correct in that respect than the denizens of any other resort of this kind in the world. The last and only material one of these statements, that only an insignificant part of the country is interested in the life of Newport, is, on its face, a mistaken one. Any allusions made to the acts or words of the Four Hundred in the theatres, in music halls, or in political meetings, from New York to the Pacific coast, are at once understood by the whole audience.

These comments hardly touch upon those acts of the "multis" with which the public is most concerned. The most serious charges that can be made against them from the point of their civic duties are (1) their enormous unproductive expenditure, and (2) their ignorance of some of the most important laws of that wealth of which they possess so much. They are, however, to be criticised for the lack of a certain kind of education which public duty demands of them, and not for moral perversity or arrogance.

One fallacy in relation to their wealth seems to obtain among the millionaires as well as among the millions, one that was exposed by Adam Smith in the very year in which we started upon our national life, namely, that spendthrift expenditure is a good thing for society. Despite the fact that every great economist since his day has demonstrated the contrary, it is a fallacy that has not yet been rooted out of the minds of a large majority of even the educated. Indeed, it might be called the *pons asinorum* of economics. There are so few even of college-bred men who have ever given themselves the trouble to understand the subject in the abstract, and of those few some are constantly stating propositions that are altogether inconsistent.

If Adam Smith, when he first exposed the fallacy of this belief, a century and a quarter ago, implied a responsibility on the part of the capitalist to expend his money in ways that would be most beneficial to society, or at least in ways not harmful to it, that responsibility must be much heavier to-day, with capital so enormously increased and concentrated. It is surprising, too, that the question of

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expenditure of the rich should have suddenly become a more serious question with us than it is with any of the countries of the Old World. When Adam Smith wrote we were a hard-working community engaged in the simple occupations of clearing forests and killing Indians; while to-day palaces have arisen on our shores probably as magnificent as that of Diocletian at Spalato, and a scale of unproductive expenditure has been initiated, with racing stables, ocean-going yachts, etc., that could not possibly have been equalled by the expenditure even of Mæcenas. It is this that justifies a reassertion of some of the axioms of economics in regard to it.

When the millions as well as the millionaire thoroughly understand that absurd and vulgar expenditure impoverishes society and checks the production, and when they learn that there is no economical justification for the present vast, unproductive expenditure, then public opinion will compel the "multis" to expend their fortunes in ways that will be more in accordance with simplicity and good taste. The vulgarity of wasting wealth will be all the clearer when its effect upon the public wealth is understood; and no sound public opinion on the subject can be formed until the public understands the purely economic side of the question.

The "multi" has a right to give himself and his children any kind of an education he sees fit. He may become — or he may cause his offspring to become — a linguist, a musician, a locomotive engineer, or an architect; but he owes it to society to make the comprehension of the following propositions a part of his education, or, to employ a university phrase, society should put the following precepts in the list of his required studies:

That spendthrift expenditure is impoverishing, not enriching, society; that a demand for commodities is not a demand for labor, but only determines its direction; that a loss of wealth to the public results by the diversion of capital from productive to unproductive channels; that in living as they do they are making luxuries cheaper but necessities dearer; that when they, by deciding upon a channel for their capital, set labor in motion to produce something, it makes a great difference to society whether the thing produced has in itself reproductive qualities — the difference between an unoccupied palace and a factory; that there never has been any such a thing as overproduction, but that there has been only disproportionate production; that the only justification for the diversion of capital from a productive to an unproductive use, thereby drawing labor out of pro-

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ductive and into unproductive channels, is for legitimate public purposes, including the elevation of the public taste; that wealth that goes to any individual unearned must be the intercepted earnings of others, and that the only moral title the recipient of it can have is based upon his making good use of it and of the leisure that he acquires by it; that the phrase "parasite of industry" is descriptive of all those who live in absolute idleness or are devoted simply to sport; that when Carlyle exclaimed, "The only monster on earth is an idler," he meant to include all kinds of trifling activity as well as idleness.

That these laws and axioms of wealth, of which a popular knowledge has now become so important, are not familiar either to the "multis" or to their critics is evidenced by the character of the defences that were made by the "multis" as well as by the attacks of the critics themselves. The most prominent of the Newport leaders who was interviewed stated that such expenditures of money were better than keeping it in bank. The interviews of the others imply the same belief. One of their most prominent critics also stated that their one virtue was that they *did* spend money. During the public discussion of unproductive consumption and expenditure which occurred at the time of the Bradley Martin ball it was shown how little the economic side of these questions was understood. Nearly all the critics on that occasion discussed the subject from the point of view either of its morality or of its good or bad taste. Very few even touched upon the economic phase of the question; and those who did commonly fell into the old fallacy of the mercantile system that such expenditure was good because it employed labor and circulated money. Bishop Potter, a gentleman whose profession and mental training are far removed from the science of political economy, was, so far as I know, the only one who expressed sound views on the economic phase of the question. Mills, in his chapter on the unproductive consumption, proves, in my opinion conclusively, that money left in bank is aiding society by directing wealth into reproductive channels, and that taking it from the bank for expenditure such as we are discussing is a dissipation of it and a subtraction from the reproductive powers of labor.

If our English writers on economics had taken as much pains to make this subject clear as some of the French economists have done, correct ideas in regard to it would be more diffused in America to-day. While the loss of wealth to society occasioned by this expenditure and

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the bad example set to others by such expenditures are very great, the economic effects are not the only ones to be considered. It creates class hatred, perverts education, deteriorates manners, and lowers the standard of taste in the fine arts, not to mention many other deleterious effects upon society at large.

Since the science of economics gives no justification for the present tendency to lavish expenditure, the only other reason for it — the expenditures of the corresponding class in European countries — would be found, with a little education in the origin and history of European institutions, to be equally unsound. An unfair and unfriendly critic has said of Americans that they are the only people who go from rawness to rottenness without passing through the intervening stages of growth. Although this statement is both unfair and untrue, as there are many Americans who have acquired vast wealth and have led the world in great public charities while retaining the simplicity of their private lives, there is a tendency, nevertheless, in many of the possessors of the newly acquired fortunes of this country to skip over several phases in the course of the evolution from the useful to the purely ornamental. One of our great writers on education has given us a linear classification of what a natural education should be, viz., (1) the education of those faculties that tend to sustentation; (2) the education directed to the rearing and bringing up of offspring; (3) the education necessary to perform well our civic duties; and (4) the education of taste in the fine arts. While our *nouveaux riches* do not all consider it necessary to drink themselves to death on gin in order properly to distribute their wealth, like the one mentioned by Leslie Stephen, nevertheless, nearly all of them spend it in many ways hardly more useful to themselves and society. They almost invariably skip the second and third heads in the educational classification, and very frequently entirely overlook the fourth, although to be a connoisseur of the fine arts strikes them more frequently as part of the education of a fine gentleman than do the other two. If they were thoroughly educated in the history and origin of the ceremonial institutions abroad; if they were taught that the retinues of servants in knee breeches and plush forming part of a nobleman's household were the degenerate descendants, sociologically speaking, of the men-at-arms; that his display and expenditures were at one time the necessary insignia of his military, and later of his political, powers; that they are survivals and encumbrances that have outlived their usefulness, and which the nobleman would probably be glad to shake off, then

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our newly enriched would not be so anxious to tangle himself up with the impedimenta of nobility until he becomes as much their prisoner as their proprietor. It would only require a little of the right kind of study to make him choose the highest, if not always the most conspicuous, type abroad for imitation.

In countries like England, where the type evolved by the traditions of militarism exists side by side with the modern industrial type, each being equally conspicuous, it is easy to see by what we expect of both which of them we really consider the higher. For instance, we should not consider it at all *infra dig.* for the Prince of Wales, or any other English nobleman who is partly the product of the traditions of militarism, to lead his own horse off the race track, if he should happen to win the Derby. But what educated American could see a John Bright or a Mr. Gladstone do such a thing without feeling that there was something in it unworthy of the man? In this day, when the study of sociology has become so common among all classes, it will be necessary, if we wish to continue to live under the system of private property, to keep it free from all Old World objections to it. History, as we know, gives no justification for its existence. It is only on grounds of public utility that it can continue to be maintained, and if the "multi" does not make the most important part of his education a knowledge of the relation that his wealth bears to the public weal, many on this side of the Atlantic will say what Mill was provoked into saying a half a century ago in England, that if the abuses under the sytem of private property cannot be pruned from it, that "if it be this or communism that is to be the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of communities would be as dust in the balance."

Nothing in this article is intended to suggest that it is desirable for a rich American to live with all the Spartan severity of "the economic man." As an author who has recently written on the United States has said, "No man in America objects to another's living like a gentleman." But there are sound reasons against engrafting upon the system of private property here the excrescences which have grown upon it in the Old World, as a result of historical conditions from which we have been happily freed.

TRUXTUN BEALE.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRITISH SHIPPING.

More than one Scottish clan claims to have had a boat of its own at the time of the Flood, which may, perhaps, in the eternal fitness of things, account for the fact that Scotland is now the hub of the world's shipbuilding. There is, however, rather a long step from Noah's cattleship to a Clyde-built battleship; and it is only through the fairy tales of science and by the long results of time that the world's sea-commerce has passed into the hands which now hold it. No more fascinating study presents itself to modern intelligence than that of the history of commerce, and certainly no branch of that study is more full of interest and importance than the history of the development of shipbuilding and shipping. The dug-outs of the early Indians and the skin coracles of the early Scandinavians were the precursors of our ocean liners and armored cruisers; for there can be no doubt that in their coracles the hardy Norsemen crossed the North Sea to Iceland, as in their later galleys they crossed the Atlantic to America, long before Columbus was thought of. Even the ships of Columbus were thimbles compared with our Campania, Oceanic, and Cymric.

When Queen Victoria ascended the throne there were only a few small wooden paddle-steamers afloat on the Clyde and the Thames and on some short coasting runs. All the over-sea trade was done in wooden sailing ships, and the voyage then from Liverpool to New York occupied from thirty to forty days. The first steamers crossed the Atlantic in 1838, and the Cunard line was inaugurated by the historic Britannia in 1840. In that year the total tonnage of merchant vessels on the British register was 3,311,538 tons, comprised in 28,138 sailing vessels and 824 steamers. In 1899 there were 12,926,924 tons on the British register, all in vessels over 100 tons, of which 6,920 were steamers and only 2,053 were sailers. A development so enormous as these figures indicate merits some close attention.

Americans have been so busy during the last thirty years in de-

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veloping the manufacturing and other industries adapted to the resources and needs of their continent that only a very small proportion of them seem to have paid any attention to shipping, or to realize what a very great industry it is. Elsewhere I have shown that the business of sea-carrying is the most important trade in the world. "Those who go down to the sea in ships, those who do business on the great waters, those who labor directly or indirectly in association with shipping, and those who are more or less dependent on it, number three-fourths of the world's population." And, of course, the most important part of this vast industry is that which is concerned with the building of ships. Longfellow, we may be sure, saw very clearly what the not far distant future had in store when he wrote:

> "There's not a ship that sails the ocean
> But every climate, every soil
> Must bring its tribute great or small
> And help to build the wooden wall."

Only, of course, we do not build wooden walls now, and instead of scouring the forests for teak and oak we delve into the mines for metalliferous ores. But the joy of the successful designer of the ocean greyhound is not less great than that of the New England master-builder, while he calls into active play an infinitely greater variety, as well as greater amount, of human skill and energy. To my mind, a perfectly equipped modern steamer is the most wonderful and admirable production of the brain and hand of man that the world contains. Familiarity has dulled our perception of its wonders and, let me add, its beauties; for the beauty of a stately liner is not less than, though different from, that of the old-time Baltimore clipper, with her lovely curves and billowy canvas. In the poetry of motion, however, the clipper had no peer, as she walked the waters like a thing of life; and in point of speed she held her own for a long time against the clumsy contrivances of the early days of steam. She served her day faithfully and well, and her memory will be always green with those who delight in naval architecture and who venerate the records of maritime enterprise.

Mr. Eugene T. Chamberlain, in the course of his article on "The Shipping Subsidy Bill," in THE FORUM for July, 1900, remarks that from 1840 to the present time Great Britain and her colonies have expended directly $240,552,292 on merchant steamships, and that by this policy, steadily pursued for many years, Great Britain has fairly

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established her great steamship lines to all parts of the world, so that less effort is now necessary on her part to maintain such lines. He admits that the great bulk of these payments are now made to mail steamships of from 13 to 22 knots, and that the policy of bounties for all vessels has never been adopted by Great Britain. "But," he goes on to add, "it is equally true that by these payments Great Britain began the construction of steamships and sent them under the red ensign as agents for the promotion of British trade to the four quarters of the globe," and "moreover, through these subsidies she has maintained her leadership in steam navigation" — with more to the same effect, all of which indicates that Mr. Chamberlain has been mixing up cause and effect.

The British Government do grant what are called mail subsidies to certain steamship companies; and British shipping and shipbuilding have thriven as the shipping and shipbuilding of no other country have done. But there is no connection between the two facts. The progress of British merchant shipping is in no sense or degree due to the payment of mail subsidies, which are simply remuneration for cargo carried. That cargo is postal matter, but the money paid for the carriage of it is just as much freight as the money paid by merchants for the carriage of Manchester cottons or American flour. If the United States Commissioner of Navigation falls into the error of connecting British maritime prosperity with mail subsidies, it is not surprising if the fallacy is pretty current in the United States. Let us see if it will not be possible for us to dispose of this fallacy once and for all.

Mail subsidies, as granted by the British Government, are payments for services rendered — and payments screwed down to the smallest possible dimensions by a department notorious for economical methods (which some call parsimony), in turn strictly supervised by Treasury officials ready to pounce down upon every sixpence of unnecessary outlay. These mail payments are accompanied by such onerous conditions that they do not bring a profit to the recipients. They involve the building of very expensive vessels, the despatch of these vessels on time whether cargo space or passenger berths be full or empty, the arrival on time at fixed points under heavy penalties for delay regardless of weather and coal famines, and a very considerable addition to the working expenses of ordinary service. They are only attractive indirectly in respect of the prestige attaching to the right to fly the Royal Mail flag; and many of these mail steamship owners

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will confess to you, in the confidences of private intercourse, that the game is not worth the candle. They are in it, and they continue in it, as is the custom of all men of commerce to run in grooves; but they are by no means the beneficently endowed beings that Mr. E. T. Chamberlain's argument may lead the general reader to suppose that they are.

The Peninsular and Oriental and the Cunard companies are, perhaps, the best known of the subsidized mail steamship companies of Great Britain; but they are by no means the best paying of British steamship companies. And, after all, these mail subsidies are unimportant and even trifling in amount, when taken in relation to the value of the shipping engaged and to the magnitude of the maritime commerce of the empire. There are only six ocean mail contracts worth taking into consideration at all. These are as classified hereunder:

SERVICE.	COMPANY.	ANNUAL SUBSIDY.
United States (outward)	Cunard and White Star (divided)	£130,000
India, China, and Japan (out and home)	P. & O.	245,000
Australia (out and home)	P. & O. and Orient Co.'s (divided)	170,000
West Indies (out and home)	Royal Mail Steam Packet	80,000
South Africa (out and home)	Union and Castle	135,000
Canada, including overland and ocean service to the East		60,000

In all, this is considerably less than a million of money divided among seven companies, owning in the neighborhood of 160 vessels, and representing a capital value, in the aggregate, of not far from £20,000,000.

These seven companies on our list possess some of the finest, largest, and swiftest — which is to say the most costly, for speed means money — steamers in the world, which have to be kept up always at the highest point of efficiency. And as against the payments to them the Government collects postage on the mail matter, which, it is computed, reduces the amount actually paid by Great Britain for ocean mail service to about a quarter of a million sterling per annum. If we were to take the fiscal view of these mail subsidies that Mr. Chamberlain does, and regard them as grants in aid of British shipping, then the actual cost to the Exchequer is only £250,000 per annum! Is that worth talking about in affairs of such magnitude? This payment, however, is really not in aid of British shipping, but in aid of the colonies and dependencies, for whom we have

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undertaken to convey postal matter at a rate so cheap that it leaves a deficit.

The mail contracts are all open to public competition, and they are only given to the same companies over and over again because no others come forward able and willing to undertake them as efficiently for less money. The very fact that the numerous other wealthy shipping companies and private shipowners in the country do not find it worth while to compete for these contracts is conclusive proof that the mail subsidies do not have the effect assumed by Mr. Chamberlain. That is to say they are in no way subsidies in the sense of the American Shipping Subsidy Bill. With the exception of the P. & O., none of these "subsidized" companies pays enviable dividends; and even the celebrated P. & O. does not pay nearly as much as many a non-subsidized company without its onerous obligations to the Government and its restrictions in regard to both time and place.

But, after all, the fleets of these companies, which are supposed to have been created and supported by state subsidies, but which, as I have shown, are only freight-carriers in Government service, form but a small section of the mercantile fleet of Great Britain. They include, it is true, the highest types and the finest specimens of marine architecture and engineering skill; but the maritime commerce of Great Britain does not depend upon them. The White Star line, for instance, does not make its profits out of its "subsidized" mail boats, but out of its non-subsidized cargo boats. The great ocean commerce of the world is not so much in the hands of the liners as in those of the great navy of ocean "tramps." The latter class of vessels may be called the backbone of Britain's sea trade, and they are not only not supported by subsidies, but are hampered and burdened to a well-nigh intolerable extent by shipping acts and meddlesome officialism.

Contrary to the practice of Great Britain, France grants direct bounties both for the building and operating of merchant vessels, but not with the result of creating a mercantile marine. She has, indeed, only about one and a quarter million tons of merchant ships altogether, and what encouragement the bounties may have given to shipowners is rather in the way of purchasing sailing vessels from British builders. France is the only country that is adding to its sailing fleet, just because more navigation bounty can be earned by a sailer than by a steamer.

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The following is a summary view of the world's shipping in 1900, comprising vessels, steam and sail, of over 100 tons:

FLAG.	NO. OF VESSELS.	TOTAL TONNAGE.
United Kingdom	8,914	13,241,446
British Colonies	1,924	1,019,808
British Empire	10,838	14,261,254
United States[1]	3,125	2,750,271
Argentina	201	87,646
Austria-Hungary	270	416,084
Belgium	117	162,913
Brazil	332	163,087
Chili	127	110,978
China (European type)	49	66,294
United States of Colombia	6	1,987
Denmark	802	519,071
Holland	406	530,277
France	1,214	1,350,562
Germany	1,710	2,650,033
Greece	369	245,094
Hayti	7	2,164
Italy	1,176	983,655
Japan	1,066	574,557
Mexico	38	14,541
Montenegro	15	5,370
Norway	2,380	1,640,812
Peru	36	14,476
Portugal	204	111,055
Roumania	20	18,020
Russia	1,246	720,901
Spain	597	694,780
Sweden	1,433	637,272
Turkey	305	143,490
Uruguay	36	14,500
Other countries (including Venezuela, Hawaii, Cuba and Philippines)	287	152,644
Total	28,422	29,043,728

One of the arguments used by Mr. Chamberlain in support of the purpose of the Shipping Subsidy Bill — a purpose with which the present writer is in entire sympathy, though he takes leave to doubt the efficacy of the proposed method — is that the United States are "absolutely dependent" on the vessels of Great Britain and Germany for the export of their agricultural products, and to a great extent dependent on them for the export of their manufactures. The

[1] The American total includes 315 iron and steel vessels of 715,209 tons trading on the Great Lakes, but not the wooden vessels on these waters, which are unregistered.

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use of the word "absolutely" can, perhaps, hardly be justified, but Mr. Chamberlain's point is a good one. It serves, however, to remind one of the interdependence of all commerce — of what the French would call the solidarity of international trade. Great Britain is as dependent on America for foodstuffs as America is dependent on her for shipping. It is a sore subject with many persons, on both sides of the Atlantic; but did the nation ever exist, or can it ever exist, able to produce everything it needs within itself? Such a country must be rather a slow place to live in — rather too suggestive of the land of Tennyson's Lotos Eaters, "A land where all things always seemed the same." Is not foreign commerce the spice of national life? It will be awkward in these connections for both Britain and America if they ever come to fisticuffs — but they must not come to fisticuffs!

The British Empire produces more than it consumes of most things, and it needs an access to all markets for its surplus. The American Republic produces more than it consumes of many things for which carriage must be found to other markets; but in as far as the mere disposal of the surplus is concerned it does not matter by what nationality of vessel it is carried. What I mean is, that while it is natural and proper that America should have a merchant navy in some proportion to her national and commercial greatness, such a navy is by no means essential to the growth and prosperity of her import and export trade. The present proportions of her foreign trade afford conclusive proof of this. An American merchant navy will doubtless cut into Britain's sea-carrying trade, but will not necessarily, or probably, increase America's own foreign trade.

The extent of the foreign trade conducted by British shipping is not easy to summarize, but I shall endeavor to focus it as briefly as possible. In the first place, in the following table is shown the total entries and clearings at ports of the United Kingdom of vessels engaged in the foreign trade, distinguishing between British and foreign:

TOTAL ENTRIES AND CLEARINGS IN UNITED KINGDOM.

YEAR.	BRITISH, TONS.	FOREIGN, TONS.	TOTAL, TONS.
1870	25,072,180	11,568,002	36,640,182
1880	41,348,984	17,387,079	58,736,063
1890	53,973,112	20,310,757	74,283,869
1895	58,691,926	21,847,248	80,539,174
1896	62,064,335	23,398,087	85,462,422
1897	64,426,545	25,772,318	90,198,863
1898	64,216,728	26,747,238	90,963,966
1899	65,648,989	32,133,898	97,782,887

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A mere array of figures like the above is apt to be misleading without some explanatory light. Thus, between 1897 and 1899, there was the Welsh coal strike to disorganize the operations in the leading export commodity of the country. Then, in 1899, there were about a million tons of British shipping taken up in connection with the war in South Africa, of which about 500,000 tons cleared from British ports in that year, but which are not included in the above totals. And the large increase of nearly 5,400,000 tons of foreign shipping at British ports in 1899 over 1898 was to a great extent due to the number of new vessels built for, and old vessels sold to, foreigners, which were cleared with cargoes or in ballast at custom houses of the United Kingdom before leaving under their new flag. The phenomenal activity of the coal trade also accounted for a good deal; and then, again, some British shipowners whose vessels were chartered to the Government for war purposes had to charter foreign vessels in order to carry on their own trade. With these explanations it will be seen that the increased entrances and clearances under foreign flags last year do not mean an equivalent encroachment by foreigners upon the foreign trade of the United Kingdom.

The sea-carriage of the world is conducted chiefly under the following flags:

FLAG.	STEAM TONNAGE.	SAILING TONNAGE.	TOTAL TONNAGE.
British Empire	12,149,090	2,112,164	14,261,254
United States	1,454,966	1,295,305	2,750,271
Germany	2,159,919	490,114	2,650,033
France	1,052,193	298,369	1,350,562
Norway	764,683	876,129	1,640,812
Italy	540,349	443,306	983,655
Russia	469,496	251,405	720,901

The American and British figures do not include wooden vessels trading on the Great Lakes, and the Russian figures do not include numerous small sailing vessels belonging to and trading in the Black and Caspian seas, of which no official return is obtainable. A point to be noted in the above is that Germany is much stronger in effective than in numerical tonnage, as compared with the United States. A steamer is to a sailer as three to one in effective carrying power. The share of the British Empire in the world's total tonnage is as shown above 14,261,254 out of 29,043,728 tons, that is, close upon 50 per cent. But the share of the British Empire in the world's steam tonnage is 12,149,090 out of 22,369,358 tons, that is, close upon 55 per cent. And while the American sailing tonnage is nearly

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five-eighths of that of the British Empire, British steam tonnage is nearly ten times that of America. Next to Germany, however, America has been increasing her steam tonnage most rapidly of late years.

What British vessels carry to and from British ports is, of course, only a portion of the work done by British shipping. There are hundreds of British-owned vessels which never see the British Isles from one year to another, but are all the time constantly employed under the British flag. Take, for instance, vessels on time-charter in the Pacific trade and the coasting steamers of India, China, and Australia. In an article on "Sea Power and Sea Carriage" which I contributed to "The Nineteenth Century," in June, 1899, I estimated the value of the sea traffic of the Pacific, on carefully collected data, at £1,102,000,000 per annum. At an average value of £10 per ton of cargo — a modest average to take considering the large amount of costly merchandise and foodstuffs in this ocean area — this represents a carriage-tonnage of 110,200,000 tons. From 70 to 75 per cent of that tonnage is under the British flag, in vessels sailing from the United Kingdom, the British colonies, and British India.

With regard to the sea-commerce of America and Europe it is possible to state with something like precision what are the actual proportions borne under the flags of the several maritime nations. Indeed, the Board of Trade publishes annually some very elaborate tables in this connection. This branch of the subject, however, is too wide for our present purpose, which is not so much to measure the importance as sea-carriers of all the nations as to show the extent and the development of British maritime commerce. Let us, however, for the sake of comparison take the United States and Germany along with Great Britain. The table on page 472 shows the total tonnage of shipping in the foreign trade entering and leaving the ports of each of these countries, and the proportions of the shipping, whether national, British, or of other nations.

The table is not a mere copy of a Board of Trade table. It is a complete recasting, for purposes of comparison, of figures authenticated by the Board of Trade. The apparent increase in the foreign proportion of British trade since 1897 has been already explained. In the case of Germany the British proportion has decreased about 5 per cent since Germany went in for building large ocean liners — many of which, however, have to resort to British ports to complete their cargoes or discharge part of them. However, it is not to be denied that all the maritime nations have increased their

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shipping of late years, and that some of them have increased their proportionate share in the world's sea-carriage, though but to a fractional extent. British vessels carry about 50 per cent of the foreign trade of Russia, about 12 per cent of that of Norway and Sweden, 48 to 50 per cent of that of both Holland and Belgium, 46½ of that of France, 53½ per cent of that of Portugal. These proportions have been higher, and perhaps may be higher again; but the present position is this: not only are all British vessels actively employed, but there is a demand for tonnage exceeding the supply.

Year.	United Kingdom.			United States.				Germany.			
	Tonnage.	British Per Cent.	Foreign Per Cent.	Tonnage.	National Per Cent.	British Per Cent.	Other Foreign Per Cent.	Tonnage.	National Per Cent.	British Per Cent.	Other Foreign Per Cent.
1860.....	24,689,292	56.3	43.7	17,065,125	70.8	24.8	4.4	.....	....	....	....
1870.....	36,640,182	68.4	31.6	18,325,062	38.2	44.1	17.7	.....	....	....	....
1875.....	46,276,838	66.9	33.1	23,589,317	31.0	43.2	25.8	[1]10,741,983	38.2	31.9	29.9
1880.....	58,736,063	70.4	29.6	36,073,505	18.9	51.7	29.4	[1]13,066,412	39.1	38.1	22.8
1885.....	64,281,642	72.2	27.8	30,819,596	20.6	50.7	28.7	[1]16,549,934	42.2	34.2	23.6
1890.....	74,283,869	73.0	27.0	36,256,123	22.5	52.8	24.7	21,106,980	43.9	35.4	20.7
1895.....	80,539,174	72.9	27.1	39,045,461	23.0	52.3	24.7	23,953,464	42.4	38.7	18.9
1896.....	85,462,422	72.6	27.4	42,413,769	24.8	52.4	22.8	24,086,632	42.7	35.5	21.8
1897.....	90,198,863	71.4	28.6	47,469,445	23.5	56.1	20.4	25,762,511	42.4	35.7	21.9
1898.....	90,963,966	70.6	29.4	51,327,631	20.2	58.4	21.4	27,536,990	43.7	32.4	23.9
1899.....	97,782,887	67.1	32.9	52,376,792	20.6	56.9	22.5	.....	....	....	....

It may be stated here that one curious and interesting effect of the Spanish-American war has been to give Spain a new impetus as an ocean carrier. Prior to and during the war her merchant navy was considerably reduced; but since the war it has been largely augmented, and is being steadily added to. The reason of this is that Spanish capital released from investment in the former Spanish colonies has found an attractive employment in shipping. In 1899 Spain bought from British builders 25,000 tons of new ships, and from British ship-owners 116,500 tons of second-hand ships. In 1900 her acquisitions in shipping from us may be expected to be even more considerable.

[1]These figures are given with all reserve, as the commercial unification of Germany did not take place until 1888.

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An immense proportion of Britain's sea trade is with her own possessions. The volume of inter-imperial traffic is growing enormously every year, and accounts for the employment of much British tonnage. In 1899, as many as 3,607 vessels passed through the Suez Canal, with an aggregate gross tonnage of 13,815,992 tons. Of that shipping no fewer than 2,310 vessels of 9,046,031 tons were under the British flag. No other nation was within hailing distance — Germany with 387 vessels of 1,492,657 tons and France with 226 vessels of 940,-124 tons being the nearest approaches. Now this British total compares with 8,691,093 tons in 1898, with 7,389,237 tons in 1897, and with 6,372,586 tons in 1887; while the German total compares with 1,353,161 tons in 1898, with 1,194,106 tons in 1897, and with 364,215 tons in 1887. The percentage fiend will make the most of this, of course; but what matter the decimal proportions when Britain counts in millions and Germany in thousands? As for America, she is not in it, as far as the Suez Canal traffic is concerned; but there will be another story when the Nicaragua Canal is finished.

The figures which have been so far used for purposes of comparison do not include the coasting trade of either of the countries dealt with. Taking foreign, colonial, and coasting trade together, the entire tonnage entering and clearing at ports in the United Kingdom in 1899 was 209,348,081 tons, of which no less than 172,635,494 tons were British. The grand total marks an increase of 9,500,000 tons in three years, or 10,000,000 tons if we take into account the 500,000 tons or so cleared for Government service in the South African war. "Foreign trade," in the Board of Trade statistics, includes trade with British possessions — that is to say, the direct trade between the mother country and her colonies. But it does not, of course, include the trade between the colonies, between the colonies and India, between India and China, and between the colonies, India, and China, &c., and America and foreign countries, carried under the British flag. The annual value of the trade between the British colonies and between them and foreign countries is now about £160,000,000. On an average of £10 per ton of cargo this represents a carrying tonnage of about 16,000,000 tons, 90 per cent of which is probably under the British flag. This estimate is not a haphazard one, because of about 12,000,000 tons of direct trade between the United Kingdom and British possessions in 1897 only about 1,000,000 tons (*i. e.*, under 10 per cent) represented foreign vessels.

Needless to say there are no regulations either in the British Isles

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or in the British colonies restricting the coasting or inter-colonial trade to British-owned vessels. It was not ever thus, of course, and for fifty years after the Declaration of Independence the navigation laws of Great Britain debarred American shipping from her coasting and colonial trade — just as the navigation laws of the United States now debar British shipping from the coasting and colonial trade of that country. But what was the effect of these old British laws? Let American readers take notice. It was to make British shipowners so contented with their lot and so unenterprising that they allowed American shipowners to capture the transatlantic trade. This was practically the only over-sea trade then open to Americans, and they certainly worked it for all it was worth. They had the pull in their vast timber resources, and with characteristic adaptability to circumstances they evolved just the right type of vessel for the trade and the time.

In a certain sense one might say that the old British navigation law was the creator of the Baltimore clipper, which, in a later type, captured also the cream of the trade between Great Britain and China and Australia, after that restrictive law was repealed. British shipowners thought they were going to be ruined by the repeal. On the contrary, they were revitalized and started on a new career of progress and prosperity. Their energies were stimulated by the competition of the smart and effective American clippers, which it took some time for the skilled builders of Scotland to outsail and outmanœuvre. They succeeded at last, and in spite of the great advantage given to American shipowners in the trade of the Far East by the definition of a voyage from New York to San Francisco as a coasting voyage within the meaning of the act, and therefore restricted to vessels under the American flag. It is not to be wondered at that British shipowners resented this reservation, after the manner in which American vessels formerly cut into the coasting and colonial trade of Great Britain — and still are at liberty to do.

At the close of the War of Independence the United States had not half the tonnage of Great Britain, but by 1850 they had 3,500,000 to our 4,250,000 tons — all wood, of course. Thanks to the start obtained in the trans-Atlantic, China, and other Eastern trade, by 1854 America was only 100,000 tons short of Britain's 5,250,000 tons of shipping. In 1861 American shipping reached high-water mark — 5,482,120 tons, though Britain had forged ahead and stood then 400,000 tons higher. But the age of iron had begun, the famous and

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unfortunate Collins line had come and gone, and the days of the triumph of wood and canvas were over. The American wooden clipper could not hold out against the British iron screw, and America could not then build iron screws. What American builders could not build American shipowners were forbidden to buy, and the American flag was driven off the face of the waters by its own statesmen. Even now, and including lake steamers, American tonnage is only half what it was forty years ago.

Thus we see that just as the strict navigation laws of Great Britain gave to America a start and stimulus in the maritime race that nearly sent her into the first place and gave her a monopoly for a time of some of the best ocean traffic in the world, so the existing navigation laws of the United States have largely helped to make Britannia commercial mistress of the seas. British shipping has never looked behind since the repeal of the old British navigation laws; and yet British shipowners have had to carry a monstrous and ever-increasing burden of care in the shape of a sheaf of Merchant Shipping Acts whose object seems to be to thwart, harass, embarrass, and penalize the shipowner at every turn.

Nothing could be further from the truth than the supposition which seems to prevail in America that British shipping owes its success and prosperity to government help. On the contrary, successive Parliaments and Ministries have acted, and enacted, as if their darling object was to fetter and cripple the industry as much as possible. Little does the American shipowner know what an Old Man of the Sea is the Marine Department of the Board of Trade on the back of his British colleague. We have Free Trade in shipping, it is true, but that does not connote free trade in shipowning. It implies not protection in the American sense, but restriction of the British, and practical protection of the foreign, shipowner. And yet, thanks to steam and steel, we own half the world's tonnage and do a good deal more than half the world's sea-carrying trade. And the only country in the world that can ever compete with us in the same lap is the United States. It is not for us to show how it may be done, but the present writer is very decided in his opinion that it will not be done by means of state bounties.

It was iron, not steam, that drove the great shipbuilding industry away from New England and back to Old England. Even twenty years ago the proportion of sailers to steamers built was 20 per cent, but within the last thirty years or so the steam tonnage of the British

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merchant navy has increased sevenfold. It is probable that the enormous extent of the British shipbuilding industry is not realized in the United States, where men have so many other big enterprises to occupy their attention. We build ships of all sorts and sizes, both for fighting and trading purposes, for every country with a seaboard under the sun. British builders furnished 1,750,000 tons of the 2,500,000 tons of new shipping put into the water last year. This included about 170,000 tons of warships for the British and foreign governments. The value of all this tonnage, with engines and the necessary equipment for sea, but without stores, would be not less than £35,000,000 sterling — one year's produce of the industry. It gives direct employment to a necessarily fluctuating, but always immense, army of artisans and laborers. It is the mainstay of many towns, and the chief customer of the iron trade, which again is the largest customer of the collieries. Indeed, it is practically impossible to measure the value of the shipbuilding trade as the creator and centre of industrial energy and the distributor of wealth through countless avenues of human employment.

According to the Custom House returns, which in 1899 for the first time included the value of new steamers exported to foreign countries, Britain supplied last year to foreigners £9,195,192 worth of new ships. This figure, however, does not include tonnage constructed during the year but not completed and delivered until the following year. It does not include the value of second-hand ships sold by British to foreign owners, to be replaced by new ones. Such sales last year amounted to 610,000 tons, of which five-sixths were steamers, and may be taken to represent a total value of about £4,000,000. Again, the export returns do not include the value of the work done by British builders and engineers on the repair of foreign vessels — work amounting to millions of pounds per annum. The largest buyer of new ships last year was Germany, and of old ships, Spain.

A peculiarity of the shipbuilding work of 1899 was that a very large proportion of it was in very large vessels of very high speed, and practically all of steel. We have now reached the third stage of development — from wood to iron and from iron to steel. By the employment of this material vessels can be constructed of much greater size and power than was possible before, because the weight of the material is now less than one-third of the total weight of the floating structure. With wood it was seven-eighths, and with iron

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one-half. The limit of reduction of weight has probably not yet been reached, but the problem of the future is how still further to increase speed without so increasing the coal consumption as to encroach on space. There is not much profit to be got in running steamers at very high speed if all their interiors have to be filled with coal for their own furnaces.

With regard to the use of steel for ships two interesting facts may be noticed: the first steel vessel built in the United States was constructed of steel plates imported from Glasgow, which was in 1895; and in the present year of grace (1900) American steel plates are being imported into Glasgow for the construction of ships there! Here is a change indeed, reminding us of the time when the wood-shipbuilders of Tyne and Wear and Clyde used to draw the bulk of their ship-timber and naval stores from America. It may be that in the age of steel, a material of which she is now so large a producer, America will recover her position in the maritime race. But other nations also produce steel, and as a shipbuilder she can hardly recover the commanding position her vast forests gave her in the days of wooden walls. Meanwhile, as a builder she will have to multiply the produce of her shipyards sixfold, and as a shipowner she will have to increase her registered tonnage tenfold, before she can be on equal terms with Great Britain, and that will not be done in a day or two.

BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

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AMERICA IN THE PACIFIC.

AMERICA's present position in the Pacific, which to-day commands the attention of all nations and stands sponsor for the first great political issues of the twentieth century, would seem, in the light of history, to be the logical conclusion of a long line of succeeding events and the legitimate consummation of imperious world movements.

The spirit of unrest and the desire to explore and master new fields, even if advance meant the subjugation of the aborigines, which characterized our forefathers and urged them westward across the Atlantic, gave the impulse to their successors, who, in turn, climbed the Alleghanies, conquered the Mississippi Valley and the higher plateaux beyond, then mounted the summit of the Rockies, and descended to the Pacific's shores. Here they refused to be balked by the expanse of sea, and sought first in their unchecked course a resting station in mid-Pacific Hawaii; and now, by way of Guam as an intermediate post, they have reached the trans-Pacific Philippines. These islands may serve as the ultimate goal in this onward western movement, since at last we have passed the distant and mystic point where the West fades away into the East and the East into the West.

History confirms in its recorded events this racial and territorial expansion when it tells the simple story of our nation's growth. The colonies of Massachusetts and Virginia grew into the original thirteen States; these were extended or divided into others to the West and South; they were augmented by the great Louisiana purchase, which connected the United States with the first outlet to the Pacific through what are now Oregon and Washington. Then came Texas and neighboring States, followed by California, which was ceded to the United States as the conclusion of a war where might was right. This gave the country an unbroken coast line of 1,500 miles on the Pacific, and made it at once and for all time a Pacific as well as an Atlantic power. Not satisfied with this extent of Pacific territory, the United States purchased Alaska; thereby adding another 1,500 miles and more to the western coast line, and carrying us almost to Asia.

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Thus, from the beginning the United States were set toward the Pacific. As soon as its waters were reached in the path of republican progress, an effort was made to bridge them on the north by the way of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands. Commercial development and political influence, however, did not thrive along that frozen route, or find a favorable approach to the vast markets and millions of Asia. A southern pathway was marked across the seas, which in the surveys included Hawaii. There was some difficulty at first about the title, but the war with Spain conveniently and peremptorily settled that issue. Guam was made a flag station. The Philippines were occupied as a legitimate moral result of war; and now we are discussing the feasibility and cost of erecting there, as it were, permanent terminal facilities. Here we find another dispute about title, but a decision should be rendered soon after the next presidential election. Russia, Germany, France, and England are well provided with rendezvous and possessions along Asia's Pacific shores. We are now to determine whether we shall have our own, or forever depend on other nations. We own the ground in right and theory, if not in practice; and we hope soon to be able to build thereon the fabric of good government, which will bring with it peace, order, and prosperity.

There are great moral as well as material problems to be solved in our occupation of the Philippines. Whether, on the one hand, we believe that our Government is meeting its responsibilities and not shirking the mighty task before it in endeavoring to put down the present warfare, or, on the other hand, that we are violating the sacred principles of the Constitution and trespassing on the rights of others, we must all agree that the one desideratum of the present hour is the conclusion of the conflict, the establishment of quiet, and the beginning of contentment and happiness among the people. When once fighting is at an end, Congress, supported by public sentiment, can determine what shall be the future of the Philippines. It is not the purpose of this article to enter upon a discussion of the principles involved in the occupation of the Philippines; but, in tracing the rise of American influence in the Pacific and the Far East, it is necessary to touch upon the present situation, which has such a direct bearing on our future standing as a power in Pacific lands and seas.

It is not merely in material conquest that the United States has asserted its influence among Pacific peoples. The qualities which took the American people across the United States and made them gaze out wistfully upon the Pacific, with a desire to benefit their own

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interests, were mingled with a sense of neighborly help, which showed itself in dealing with Japan, China, Korea, and Siam. It was one of the notable and epoch-framing events of history when Japan, the lusty giant of the Pacific, was opened to a new life and to the world by the work of American naval men and diplomatists. When Commodore Perry sailed into Yeddo Bay, and when Anson Burlingame negotiated the first treaties with Japan, that little country was started upon a career of importance and prosperity almost unrivalled in history. When Commodore Shufeldt taught Korea that it was time for her to heed the suggestions of America for closer intercourse with other nations, she took the advice which is now gradually bringing her into prominence as a land of considerable material promise and worth. When the Tientsin treaties with China were signed by William H. Seward, Anson Burlingame, and William B. Reed, the United States made liberal proposals and admitted rights to the Chinese Government which would have enabled China to become as great a power as Japan, had she possessed in her Government the men and force to take advantage of her splendid material and political possibilities.

These efforts in the north of eastern Asia were supplemented by similar work in Siam, far to the south. It was American diplomatic influence that first brought this tropical country into marked prominence among the lesser nations of the world. When Edmund Roberts journeyed to that interesting kingdom, in 1833, he paved the way for Burlingame, who came again in 1856 to negotiate treaties of commerce and amity with the Siamese which at once gave them a confidence and an interest in America which have never been lost. Standing to-day as the most progressive and prosperous independent country of Asia, after Japan, Siam is not forgetful of America's assistance in the early days of her awakening, and now seeks a closer commercial and political friendship than ever before.

In narrating the gradual development and expansion of American influence in Pacific lands, due credit must be attributed to the missionaries, who have done their work faithfully through long years — even back in the times when there were no treaties to give them protection — from Japan to Java. Whether or not we believe that they have been successful in making a multitude of converts, we must admit that they have exercised a helpful influence in opening the interior of the principal Asiatic countries to foreign material invasion. They have been the forerunners of the merchants, even in the most

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hazardous portions of the Far East. Long and careful study of their work has led me to believe that they have accomplished sufficient good to warrant the support they have received from home. There are many weaknesses and shortcomings in their policies and methods, but the general average is surely in their favor.

As we study, therefore, the extent and rise of American influence throughout the Pacific, we see that our present position is not an accident or a sudden appreciation of a great opportunity followed by an extraordinary effort to improve it. True, we are making an endeavor to master and control the situation in commerce and politics as we have never done before. But we have the quiet, steady, continued work of the last fifty years as a preparation and foundation for the responsibilities which we are now assuming. It has required the war with Spain and the crisis in China to bring the American people to a definite appreciation of the extent and value of the Pacific and the Far Eastern fields of commerce and politics, of material and moral influence.

Prior to this conflict there were those who struggled to bring American manufacturers, exporters, and others concerned to a realization of the possibilities of trade among the half a billion people who reside in lands that border upon the Asiatic waters of the Pacific, whose imports and exports make a grand total of foreign trade that nearly approaches the billion-dollar mark, and where — in visiting the great principal ports of Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Singapore — one sees more shipping in motion than in any ocean port of the United States except New York. But our reports and exhortations were heeded by the passing few only who accidentally had their attention turned to the Far East, being generally considered merely as ill-timed prophecies of dreamers. The present universal study of the Pacific and the Far East not only confirms all that was described and prophesied in the days when there was little or no interest, but discovers new opportunities and possibilities beyond even the most hopeful expectations of former days.

We are now face to face with a problem of successfully meeting our responsibilities, not only in the Philippines and China, but in Japan, Korea, Siam, Hawaii, and other lands where there is commercial and moral opportunity before us. It is far from my purpose to advocate territorial aggrandizement for the purpose of extending commerce and influence. Our position in the Philippines is not the result of mere conquest. The war with Spain was not begun with any

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intention of holding the islands; but the combinations of conditions and circumstances were such as to draw us into a conflict which has given us, possibly, the outward appearance of going to war for material advancement rather than to meet courageously the duties that devolved upon us. It is now possible for us to occupy the controlling position in diplomacy and commerce throughout the Far East without further disputes or wars.

Our position, as illustrated in our dealings with China, is one of singular prominence and power. We are now recognized and respected in every capital of the Orient. The future is bright with the peaceful undertakings that await our guidance. There is that fortunate mingling of respect and fear with friendship among the Asiatics in their attitude toward us that augurs well for the successful consummation of wisely directed policies. Where before we were continually met with exasperating opposition to legitimate enterprises, we now find objection only luke-warm and a matter of mere form. There was a time in the very recent past, before Dewey sailed out of Mirs Bay, when the foreign representatives of European powers could successfully combat the influence of their American colleagues in the foreign offices of Asiatic powers; but that day has passed, and the requests of United States ministers and consuls are as carefully heeded now as those of the representatives of European nations. I would not imply that American influence was nil in former days, or that we suffered indignities to any considerable degree; but there was simply lacking that tangible something which would make the Asiatics realize the importance and power of the American Government. We are not now in a position where we should bully or browbeat; we are merely on the same level with our European competitors, but we are in a position to combat the policies of the latter which might lead to unhappy results for various Asiatic lands.

The most important event in the Far East during the past two years, after the Philippine and Chinese difficulties, has been Japan's entry upon her duties as a world power. On July 16, 1899, she threw away, as it were, her swaddling clothes of foreign extra-territorial jurisdiction, and assumed the full responsibilities of administering law and order with the same privileges and rights exercised by European and American countries over foreigners within their borders. Only those familiar with the history of Japan and other non-Christian countries know the meaning of this remarkable stride forward. Heretofore, ever since the inception of the first treaties in Japan, Korea,

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China, Siam, Persia, Turkey, and Morocco, the United States and European countries have had complete judicial control of their respective citizens and subjects. Japan is the first one of these to prove her right and capacity to assume the prerogatives of Christian and progressive countries.

The most interesting feature of this radical change in Japan's methods of government is the position which the United States Government has taken. Our policy has always been favorable to Japan's expansion and her development of the fullest degree of control in all matters. The United States has never stood in the way of her ambition, but, on the other hand, was the first country to propose the abolition of extra-territoriality. It is true that Great Britain executed and signed her treaty with Japan first; but the United States began negotiations earlier than Great Britain, and practically paved the way for the new policy. Japan does not forget this; she remembers it as she does the fortunate effect of Commodore Perry's coming and the negotiation of the first treaties. Little difficulties now and then rise, like labor and immigration troubles in Hawaii, or an assault on a rampant American sailor in her ports; but there is throughout Japan, both among officials and among the better informed of her people generally, a deep feeling of respect for America which not only has given us a great influence in the past, but which augurs well for the future.

The history of our diplomatic relations with Japan is of such a nature as to foster mutual confidence and respect, and to provide a way for the friendly settlement of all difficulties and for a possible concert for the maintenance of our mutual rights throughout the Pacific. Now and then we see the effervescent jingo spirit of a Japanese paper berating something that America has done; but it seldom touches a popular chord of sentiment, and it eventually quiets down with the conclusion that Japan can have no stronger or better ally than the United States.

The attitude of Japan toward the United States in the Philippine matter has been such as to warrant more than a passing word of commendation. In the praise that we have bestowed upon Great Britain for her neutrality, we have possibly lost sight of Japan's position. During the long period that has elapsed since the declaration of war with Spain, and the consequent beginning of trouble in the Philippines, there has been every opportunity for Japan quietly to trespass beyond the limits of international courtesy; but she has steadfastly refrained from such steps, and has exercised a vigilance which is

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commendable. It may be possible that some filibustering expeditions have sailed from Japan or Formosa with arms and ammunition for the Filipinos, but it has not been with the connivance of the Japanese Government. Japan has displayed no jealousy or irritation over our occupation of the Philippines, although, with the excusable desire on her part to expand and to find wider fields and markets for her people and her products, it might have been natural for her to do so. With greater interests at stake she has had far less to say than Germany or France. Nor will it be forgotten by those who were at Manila at the taking of the city that the Japanese man-of-war, along with the English squadron, steamed over to Cavite alongside the American ships, as if to give them friendly encouragement, instead of seeking a position to the north and west, where went the ships of other nations.

There may be dangers ahead in the abolition of extra-territoriality, and troubles may follow; but there is no doubt that it is the honest purpose of the Japanese Government to do all in its power to protect the interests of foreigners from any ill-effects of this radical change. Such eminent men as Count Okuma, Viscount Aoki, Count Matsukato, and Marquis Ito told me on my last visit to Japan that while the undertaking was a most serious one, there would be no stone left unturned by their Government to satisfy the expectation of foreigners and foreign governments; and they hoped that these in turn would fully reciprocate in their efforts to make the new treaties work successfully. If foreigners would approach them and accept them in the right spirit there would be few difficulties or dangers. We can at least afford to be charitable in judging the first workings of these new conditions. The more kindly the spirit manifested by the American Government and by Americans residing in Japan, the greater will be the strengthening of the bonds between the two governments and the privileges and favors shown to our residents. The United States cannot for a moment overlook any violation of the spirit or letter of the new treaties, and we must zealously guard our interests; but there is a vast difference between mere quibbling and basing complaints on just grounds.

The Japanese are strong, virile people. Their vigor of body and mind is one of the strongest qualities which augurs for their success as a nation. They can stand setbacks and survive periods of distress which would bring misfortune and disaster did not her sons and daughters possess these elements of mental and physical force. Japan is face to face with innumerable problems of internal

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government which may retard her progress and disappoint in their issue her well-wishers; but in that respect she is only repeating the experience of all of the nations. There may be unfortunate features of Japanese character and political and moral methods, as there are of other nations, and the Government to-day may not be on that satisfactory, solid basis which could be desired; but one who has met her leading statesmen is inclined to be far more confident than pessimistic in regard to the future. The late Japanese Minister to the United States, Mr. J. Komuro, and the distinguished ex-Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Kentaro, who was given a degree last year by Harvard University, are strong illustrations of forceful, intellectual, and influential Japanese statesmen, whose mingled integrity and patriotism will do much to guide their ambitious nation through the tortuous channels it must pass. Those that I mentioned before, along with these latter two, are but a few selections from a large body of strong men who appreciate the dangers as well as the possibilities ahead of Japan, and who will do their utmost to make her a world power. Among them all there is a prevailing feeling that Japan should draw closer to the United States.

While it is contrary to precedent and to our policy to make any formal alliance with a foreign power, there is no limit to the combined influence of the United States and Japan in the Pacific. United in policy and purpose, they could demand and insist upon the consummation of any plan. They could call a halt to the movements of any other nation, or they could refuse to heed the restrictions of countries which might meddle where Japanese and American interests should be supreme. It is within the power of Japan and America, without war or thought of war, to direct the commerce and politics of Pacific lands along those lines which will be conducive to the best interests of both. They alone could preserve the integrity of China, work out the destiny of Korea, inspire Siam to greater efforts, and exercise a healthy influence throughout the other parts of Asia, which would not only merit, but which would receive, the active support of Great Britain and of Russia.

There is no doubt that to-day England stands ready to unite with Japan and the United States in shaping the future of Pacific lands. But there is no reason why we should antagonize Russia. She is too great a power in the Pacific. Possibly, there could be no better assurance of the continuance of the peaceful relations that have always existed between Russia and the United States than that they

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should reach a clear, definite understanding, supplementing notes already exchanged, that all portions of China, which may eventually be considered as Russian spheres of influence, shall be always free and open to American trade to the same extent and degree as now permitted by the Tientsin treaties with China. The differences between Japan, the United States, and Great Britain, on the one side, and Russia, on the other, are, after all, greater in theory and possibility than in present reality. There is danger ahead unless proper provision is made to avoid it; but the differences are not such as to warrant the thought of war on our part, first, because we have too much to gain in Russian territory by maintaining perpetual peace and friendship with Russia; and, second, because war will not be required when the moral force of nations working together and understanding each other can accomplish far more than war to the hilt.

This leads us to mighty China, not now mighty in administration of law and order, but in virility, in racial force, in population, in area, in resources, and in opportunities and possibilities yet undeveloped. The historical age of China, reaching back through a great many centuries, makes the United States but the merest child in comparison with her as an independent Government; but our material progress in one decade is greater than that of China through 3,000 years. Japan has even accomplished more on modern lines in twenty-five years than China has done in twenty-five centuries; and yet there is an element of credit due to a government which has lasted through those uncounted years which we must not forget. After all, is it not marvellous that China has stood the wear and tear of all these centuries, while European nations have risen and fallen? There is a homogeneity among the Chinese people that has enabled China to withstand storms and struggles that would have completely wrecked any other nation. Here again we have an element of heredity which must be considered. The Government may be called weak, but the Chinese people move on with the same unbroken spirit and persistence which characterized them hundreds of years ago. Possibly they may move in a circle; but there is untold strength among China's masses, which is sometimes forgotten in the consideration of her possibilities.

If we note the qualities of the Chinaman as a trader and business man, as a manager of large or small institutions, as a student or as employé of foreigners, as a high-class or low-class laborer, as a resident

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of his own home town, or as a wanderer among other people, we find that he is ever the same stoical, easy-going, but unremitting, worker and gatherer of dollars and cents. He gives little and takes much. Wherever he goes he carries away more than he brings in, and through all conditions he never becomes assimilated: he is always a Chinaman. It requires a large measure of virility and force of character to stand the competition with all other peoples and still retain absolute individuality.

The Chinaman, however, can be led and influenced; and it may remain for America to become the chief power whose influence shall direct the Chinese people along those lines which will make them realize their possibilities among other peoples. There can be no greater danger to the United States, to the Anglo-Saxon race, and to progressive Christian influence throughout the world, than that of the vast hordes of China, directed by conditions or led by influences antagonistic to those of Europe and America, conserving their strength to be thrown upon our flanks at the weakest spot, and some day bring us to the point where the "yellow danger," as it is sometimes termed, will become the foremost enemy of civilization and progress. The United States must consider the responsibility resting upon her, so that she may use her material and moral strength in China in a way which will always enable her to exercise such influence over the mighty forces of China as will direct them along channels that shall not be destructive to her and other nations.

From the inauguration of America's treaty relations with China we have never endeavored to take the prominent position occupied by Great Britain or Russia, and we have never sought any Chinese territory. There is no reason now why we should depart from our former policy and methods; but we have certain well-defined treaty rights which we must closely watch and preserve. If we simply insist upon the carrying out of the spirit and letter of the treaties ratified in 1859 and 1869, we shall have little to fear in the future and everything to gain.

I shall not enter here into a statistical discussion of our commercial possibilities; but every one who studies the physical resources of China must become impressed with the great opportunities that there are before us. As to their development, it may be simply said that if American capital does not take matters in hand, that of other nations will. If we have capital lying idle which will not seek investment within the borders of the United States, no matter how

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earnestly we might desire it, but will go into the railways, coal mines, gold fields, and general opportunities of development in China, our Government should encourage it by every legitimate process.

It may be argued that all this attention to China will teach her the more rapidly to find herself, as it were, and to enter into actual competition with the United States; but an enormous amount of purchasing from America must go on for a long period before this point is reached, which, again, will go to some other country if the exporters and manufacturers and capitalists of the United States do not improve the field. It is largely a question of the opportunity for one man to make money if another does not. China must develop, improve, and reform, whether as an independent nation or as one divided among other powers; and it is well that the United States, as a great commercial and material country, should receive her legitimate share where she can do so without involving herself in other responsibilities.

The present railways planned for China are only the beginning of what she will need when once the real movement of progress is begun. There are vast fields of coal and iron which must be opened up; there are great tracts of agricultural areas which are not cultivated to one-tenth of their capacity; and there are the multitude of other opportunities which a country that has had little material progress for thousands of years, but with tremendous latent possibilities, affords. The chief American enterprise of the present, namely, the construction of a great trunk line from Hankow through the heart of southern China to Canton, and thence to Kowloon, opposite Hong Kong, is like the construction of the first important railway from New York to Chicago or from Chicago to New Orleans. After this is once built, through a country having a population equal to that of the United States, there must necessarily follow not only the building of branch lines, but the starting of new industries, the building up of towns and cities, the rearrangement of groups of population, and, in short, a complete change in the lives and conditions of the people in the interior of China. Along with this trunk route will be others from Shanghai to Hankow and on to Chungking, from Chungking through Szechuan into northern Siam and Burma, connecting there with lines to Bangkok, Rangoon, and Calcutta. Some will reach from Pekin southward to these principal points; others will extend northward through Manchuria, where Russia is already building with marvellous rapidity.

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It is not merely an imaginary and doubtful picture when one describes the time when the traveller can leave Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Tientsin and go not only to any important part of the great Chinese Empire, but seek such distant points as Saigon, Bangkok, Singapore, Rangoon, Calcutta, Bombay, Teheran, Constantinople, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, along all-rail routes. The most gigantic of these enterprises is the one which is nearest completion — the Trans-Siberian Railway. England, if she would safeguard her interests, cannot long delay the construction of a railway from Burma, in India, into China, which will put her in touch with the Yangtse Valley, which she regards as her especial sphere.

The great market which all this construction will provide for American locomotives, general rolling stock, rails, timber, and a multitude of lesser supplies which accompany the greater is a most inviting possibility. If, under existing conditions, we are selling ever increasing quantities of cotton goods, flour, petroleum, food products, and a long and varied assortment of manufactures, with only a few treaty ports and a small portion of China's millions accessible, what a field of trade should be open to us when China is covered with a network of railways! The day of a network may be distant, but the carrying out of the present plans will be sufficient greatly to augment the amount of our exports to the Middle Kingdom. The Chinaman's buying capacity, which is often used as an argument against the development of China's commerce, will increase in corresponding ratio as he is provided with an opportunity to get his raw products and riches of the earth to markets which have money to pay for what he has. The world need not trouble itself about John Chinaman's capacity to get hold of the dollars if he is only given the opportunity; and no man is more ready to part with the same dollars in barter or trade, provided he sees his way clear to make more. A few cents mean more to the average Chinaman than dollars to the average American; and if one Chinaman has not the buying capacity of one American, the greater number of Chinamen will, in a measure, make up for this deficiency of capital.

American influence and capability of taking advantage of the opportunities for the extension of our commerce and trade must largely depend upon our policy at Pekin. With the present prominence which we have attained in Asia, and in the knowledge of our achievements in the minds of the Chinese, there is a tempting chance to strengthen our political and commercial influence throughout China;

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but the bringing about of this end is not to come through any illegitimate process of diplomatic pressure. By mingled firmness and regard for China's inalienable rights, we shall, in all this flood of duplicity, win her sincere and lasting esteem.

China knows, as all the world knows, that her future now depends more on our dictum than on that of any other nation. If we should consent to her division, or to the full consummation of spheres of influence, her integrity would immediately become a thing of the past. Legitimate material concessions and privileges, as well as the protection of the moral rights of our missionaries, will be ours if in this hour of trial we shall treat China fairly.

We have everything to gain and nothing to lose by the maintenance of Chinese sovereignty over all portions of the Empire, because now our rights are guaranteed by treaty, and with their protection we shall be able successfully to compete with all other nations in commerce and trade. On the other hand, with China divided we may get something or nothing. By recognizing a policy of division of the Empire, we shall give up a bird in the hand for one in the bush. It is a singular fact that every American merchant, exporter, and manufacturer doing business with China is strong in advocacy of the American policy which will preserve the integrity of the Empire. To my mind, if Russia, France, and Germany are approached in the right way, there is no reason why they should not act with the United States, Great Britain, and Japan in insuring that integrity which we so much desire; but there are many good merchants who fear that we may wake up some morning to find that the growing market for our cotton products in Manchuria and Shantung is restricted by new conditions which will either kill it outright or provide for its slow, but none the less certain, death.

At the present moment our relations with Russia are most friendly, and she probably is sincerely desirous of trading with us and of buying what she needs from our manufacturers as well as from the manufacturers of other countries; but we must remember that Russia is preparing for a great industrial future, and means herself to become a manufacturing power of the first class. She knows that it will be difficult for her to compete in the markets of western Europe and America, and therefore she looks to Asia. She cannot be blamed in this provision for the future; but we must consider her possibilities as a competitor in countries where now there are treaty rights which give no preference to her or any other nation over us, but which

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may be ignored or overruled in the course of events if the present tendency toward the break-up of China is continued. We must build up our markets in Siberia and other parts of Russian Asia, but at the same time we must protect those that have already reached large dimensions.

I am more optimistic than pessimistic as to the future of China; but I believe in carefully considering the difficulties that may confront us, and in preparing against contingencies that may arise. What greater diplomatic achievement could do honor to America's foreign relations than leading in a policy which shall make both Russia and Great Britain work in harmony for the preservation of the best interests of all three? Japan would certainly give her support, because her interests are akin to ours, while Germany and France would be forced to accept, without question, the decrees of such diplomacy.

We are now stronger than ever before, not only at Pekin, but at St. Petersburg, London, and Tokio. Let us take advantage of the situation; and may no untoward event arise to lessen our influence or prevent the consummation of a policy which shall perpetually protect our interests in Pacific lands. JOHN BARRETT.

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VACATION SCHOOLS.[1]

THE vacation school movement originated in the desire of citizens to provide other influences than those of the streets for children during July and August; popular observation, school reports, and statistics of juvenile arrests showing this interim in school occupation to be injurious mentally, morally, and physically. Other phases of this work are "fresh-air parties," "country weeks," summer camps and farms. Summer play-grounds also have developed into vacation schools, since it has become apparent that games have a strongly educative influence; and the play spirit carried into certain forms of instruction increases the attractiveness of play-grounds.

Within the last six years vacation schools have been opened by private initiative in over twenty cities. In Philadelphia and New York they are under municipal conduct — the final object of this movement elsewhere. They are for children under sixteen years of age, and continue six weeks in July and August, with morning sessions only. The attendance is voluntary; therefore, to be successful, their methods must be popular. The best results do not follow training "across the grain," after artificial methods. Play is the way of living of all young animals — their natural method of preparing for existence later. Therefore, the spirit of play cunningly permeating vacation school curricula secures as regular attendance and faithful work as do truant laws; the work, however, being of a different character.

The design of the vacation school is to supplement the public school, and to give the children certain advantages which parents of intelligence and means supply, by their own preference, through home environment or travel. One of the chief functions of vacation schools is that of serving as experiment stations, so that these schools exert a positive influence upon regular school methods. No books are used. The instruction is, briefly, according to the laboratory method.

[1]Revised from a paper read at the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the American Academy of Medicine, Atlantic City, N. J., June 2–4, 1900.

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To encourage muscular ability manual training is prominent in the form of wood-work, such as carpentering, whittling, fret-sawing, chip-carving; or of constructive work with cardboard or flexible bands of iron; or of household arts, as cooking, care of rooms and of the sick, sewing, mending, embroidering. The use of a score of different tools for working different kinds of wood and other materials is fascinating to practically all children, even when there exists a strong liking for books. The natural creative instinct of children, their delight in seeing and owning the results of their labor, and the enjoyment of occupations that permit of free movement are all utilized, in this way, for educational purposes.

To city children nature study is partial compensation for the circumstance that their childhood cannot be passed in the freedom, beauty, and wholesome simplicity of country living. As the summer season dictates, this is the chief feature of vacation schools. Indoors, flowers and other products of the vegetable kingdom are studied from samples in the children's hands. Aquaria, window boxes, pet animals, and museum specimens encourage habits of interested observation and develop the powers of description. A school garden out of doors gives every child the supreme joy of trowelling, planting, watering, and watching development under his own fostering care. This is knowledge at first hand, the most lasting kind. Acquaintance with vines, shrubs, and flowering plants, which make the home attractive, encourages the children to develop the possibilities of their own backyards and other little corners of earth. In Germany, Russia, France, and Switzerland school gardens are numerous, and they are increasing in America.

Excursions take place at frequent intervals — a very efficient drawing card utilized to its full pedagogic possibilities. These peripatetic schools or classes, with special instructors, visit city parks, museums, art galleries, industrial establishments, and points of purely local historic or scientific interest. The excursions into the country are undertaken principally for the purpose of nature study and sketching, the event closing with free play and other forms of enjoyment. Tens of thousands of children have taken these journeys by boat or rail, and I have not yet heard of a single accident. The numerous little groups into which the school is divided, each with a teacher, go to their several study grounds — a river path, a wood road, a field hedge, or a hillside — for their class work. "Bird day" is prepared for during the preceding week by handling and studying mounted specimens

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of birds native to the locality. They learn of their songs and habits, and they understand why such an excursion must be made late in the afternoon, and why they must visit a place with running water, trees, and underbrush. They taste the hunter's intensity of enjoyment in the stealthy approach and quiet waiting, and in the irrepressible delight when the game is found. Sympathetic acquaintance with the habits and beauties of living creatures may, we trust, eventually supplant the primitive slaying instinct of the race. In corresponding fashion they have "insect," "rock," "beach" and "flower" days, when the objects studied in the class room are greeted in their habitat with the delight of welcoming old friends; or the day may be spent upon a well-equipped model farm.

Art and nature study are correlated in these summer programmes. Accuracy of observation is increased by a water-color sketch. Foliage and fruit, mounted birds and butterflies, human models, and landscapes are reproduced in color. Without seeing it, one can hardly believe how much a skilful teacher can accomplish in this direction with children from eight to fifteen years of age. It means more than the present event to call attention to objects of nature. To many children these excursions are, perhaps, the only opportunities they will ever have to pass a day in the country in the companionship of an educated, refined, and sympathetic friend. The novelty of the impressions renders them most vivid and lasting. I can only mention the fact that music also constitutes part of the programme.

The advantages of outdoor gymnasia do not need demonstration. Imagine a wide-spreading American elm, with leafy shadows flitting over groups of children from hot city streets who, under the guidance of an expert, are taking keen delight in their achievements on bars, ladders, and swings. This I saw in one of the very few school-yards where the city fathers have preserved a beautiful tree. About the gymnastic games following the apparatus work I wish to say a word. It is almost appalling to think that the last stronghold of children — their play — is being invaded and utilized for pedagogic purposes. The truth is that play and play-grounds are being municipalized out of the world. With no place for play but ill-smelling streets and prison-like yards, with policemen and ordinances coercing active play chiefly into a dodging out of sight and even into criminal mischief, it has come to pass that city children are forgetting how to play, and are losing the vigor of body and character given by play. The recognition of this is behind the play-ground movement, and must

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not be forgotten as school boards take up vacation work. Thoughtful citizens should be most anxious to preserve the spirit of genuine play in vacation schools.

Gymnastic games, devised for play, for exercise, for mind, and for character, have been adapted to the city conditions of small space and large numbers. The stimulation of laughter and the muscular and circulatory invigoration accompanying these active outdoor games stand in marked contrast to formal school-room gymnastic exercises, say ten minutes or less in duration, taken in narrow aisles, and in rooms filled with a vitiated atmosphere. There can be no doubt as to which of the two furnishes the more ideal form of exercise. If the same appropriation now made for gymnastic instruction should be devoted to specialists in games very much more would be accomplished for children under the limitations of time and surroundings at present necessary in public schools; besides, the children would be instructed in plays that could be used elsewhere. Under wise control these games may become an important factor in character development.

A few lower grade and vacation schools are endeavoring to harmonize the conditions of school life with democratic government. By making and administering their own laws, starting in a play experiment, children grow into an understanding of social order, and it is believed that they may thus acquire an inclination toward the upholding of community interests. They thus learn to practise a form of obedience higher than that developed by personal authority — voluntary obedience to the right, however it may be called for.

To care for less favored children during the summer months, to help to fill gaps in their training, and to connect certain currents between the school and citizenship — these are the chief purposes of the vacation school. Good teachers are needed, manifestly, to hold voluntary attendance, to give the special instruction indicated, and to conduct such experimenting efficiently. HELEN C. PUTNAM.

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AMERICAN COAL FOR ENGLAND.

In considering the question of American coal for the English market, it might be imagined that an article from the pen of an Englishman with interests in English collieries and English coal must necessarily be flavored, if not impregnated, with partiality, to say nothing of patriotism. Such an assumption, however, would be entirely erroneous, as business men at least must agree in accepting the principle that partiality must not enter into business, and in acknowledging the somewhat saddening fact that patriotism never does.

Starting from these premises, therefore, let us review the salient features of the new situation in the cold, calculating spirit of a business man who, having long been accustomed to buy from his brother-in-law, under the impression that he thereby gets bottom prices, is suddenly confronted by a quotation from his cousin, forty-two times removed, offering him a better article for less money. Not that the writer intends by any means to imply that the pleasing terms of this somewhat startling offer, in so far as it applies to American coal, may be swallowed whole as a preliminary to chewing the cud of reflection over the matter. Far from it. To change the metaphor, he intends to follow out the rôle of the aforesaid business man, who will assuredly allow a little verbal discount from all that is said to him as he weighs up the offer and passes it through his mental clearing-house.

As being the only fair method of dealing with the theorem advanced, the writer proposes to consider the subject under three aspects, those aspects applying to three widely divergent classes of coal, viz.: Gas coal, steam coal, and house coal. Before we enter into the matter, however, it will doubtless be advantageous to place before the general reader a résumé of the circumstances which have developed the idea embodied in the title of this article.

During past months, extending indeed to years, the prices of all classes of coal have been steadily advancing in the British market; and coal consumers have been viewing with apprehension, increasing

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to alarm and approaching panic, the persistency with which shilling after shilling has been added to the cost of each class of fuel. Gas has been getting dearer all over the country, public works have been partially closed down, railway companies have been raising rates and fares on account of the increased price of steam fuel, and householders have been groaning beneath a 50 per cent advance on their coal bills, with the situation holding forth rich promise of further advances to come.

This being the position of affairs, it follows that any prospects which may afford a possibility of holding the cost of coal in check will excite universal interest among the coal consumers of Britain; and a cue has been given to the public by certain remarks made by Mr. Livesey, the chairman of the South Metropolitan Gas Company, at the half-yearly general meeting of the shareholders in August. In these remarks, and in a subsequent communication which he made to the "Times," Mr. Livesey hinted ominously, if somewhat vaguely, at the competitive value of gas coal from America; and a coloring of substantiality was indubitably given to these hints by the final, triumphant arrival of the "Queensmoor" with an actual cargo of real coal from that far-away clime.

Thereupon American gas coal, the first of the three classes we have set down for consideration, attracted a considerable amount of attention, if not investigation, from the general public. Then the daily press got to work, and a fine, large vein of prophecy was opened to meet the public demand. Phœnix-like, from the ashes of this famous cargo of gas coal there would arise many cargoes of all sorts of coal, and the glad news was blazoned abroad among a delighted populace for what it was worth. Apparently, it was not worth much, for on the first of October the cold-blooded announcement was made that Mr. Livesey had concluded contracts with English coal owners for 750,000 tons of Durham gas coal, at an average price of 16 shillings ($4) per ton, f. o. b. Therefore, we shall not be doing Mr. Livesey an injustice if we conjecture that he was utilizing his epoch-making cargo of American coal not so much for producing gas as for setting up a bogie with which to terrorize the extortionate coal owner, it being, of course, an axiom — accepted by everybody with the exception of themselves — that coal owners form the most virulent and infectious type of extortionate beings in existence.

If we adopt a few obvious facts in connection with the South Metropolitan Gas Company's contract as a basis for comparison, we ob-

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tain some deductions which shed considerable light upon the question in hand. Freights for the coal acquired under these contracts will probably be arranged at something like 4 shillings ($1) per ton, which figure will bring the total cost of the coal up to 20 shillings ($5) per ton delivered alongside the company's works. Now, it is said that the "Queensmoor" was fixed at 16 shillings ($4) per ton freight between America and London; but it is certain that this tentative rate could not be repeated, and in all probability 19 shillings, or even 20 shillings ($4.75 to $5), would have to be paid. Unless, therefore, American coal owners are prepared to put their coal on board ship at a price which will be something fractionally less than 1 shilling (25 cents) per ton, they cannot expect to do much business with the London gas companies; and at that keen-cut quotation the most extortionate coal owner in America will fail to extort anything more than a very fine drawn margin with which to carry on the business of the official receiver in bankruptcy, or his counterpart in the United States.

On the other hand, however, the argument may be advanced that American coal gives such excellent results that it is worth fully 50 per cent more than English coal. Were this the case, it might be conceivable that an addition of 10 shillings ($2.50) per ton to the price of American coal would not only be permissible, but that, as applied to gas coal peculiarly, it might actually be preferable to work a 50 per cent better coal at a 50 per cent higher price than to work the cheaper coal, on account of the saving of labor. This aspect of the case, however, would not be considered by any means an advantageous one so far as it would concern the London gas coal market, in which one of the chief requirements is a coal which will yield a plentitude of coke as well as rich results in gas, and where an increase in the yield of gas at the cost of a reduced output of coke would be counted a somewhat dubious gain.

But, in any case, the argument as to the supposed superiority of American coal would not be based on fact. Average American coal is very little, if indeed any, better in quality than average English coal; and even if we accept as a tangible basis of comparison the claim that each ton of American gas coal will yield 15,000 cubic feet of gas, which quantity has been freely cited as the prospective result, we cannot admit that the figure is exceptionally high when compared with English coals, as many of the best Durham and Yorkshire coals are fully as productive in their respective yields. This fact, therefore, places American and English coals very much on a par as regards

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quality; and, having seen that equality of price is out of the question, we fear we must put American gas coal completely out of court in respect of its feasibility and practicability for the English market.

In turning to the question of steam coal, we certainly find a much wider field for argument as to the prospects of American fuel finding a market in England. We even find, under certain circumstances and taking certain factors into account, some reasonable possibilities for such an issue being ultimately brought about. Some of these circumstances and factors have been indeed ruling for some time, and their possible continuance may afford enterprising American coal owners some excuse for making practical experiments in the matter, although under auspices which, to begin with, are not particularly encouraging.

Taking into consideration the most expensive steam fuel at present in the English market, viz., Welsh smokeless steam coal, for the purpose of eliciting the possibilities referred to, we find that prices for this class of fuel have ruled abnormally high for several months, both in regard to current quotations and contracts for future delivery; coals on the Admiralty List having been sold at prices varying from £1 5s. to £1 5s. 6d. ($6.25 to $7.12½), free on board at Cardiff. Granting the very reasonable contention that Pocahontas and a few other American coals of this class are fully equal to best Welsh steam coal in quality, a considerable deduction must be made from the value of the Pocahontas class in recognizing the vast difference in the handling of the respective coals at the pithead. It must be remembered that the Welsh coal sold at the above figures is large screened coal, the small coal, or, as our Scottish colliery friends would call it, the dross, having been thoroughly screened from the coal prior to its removal from the collieries.

American coals, on the other hand, are usually sold as "run of mine," termed in English phraseology "through and through," or translated into pure Scotch, "triping." This condition implies the virgin state of the coal as it leaves the miner's tram, unscreened and deteriorating in size with each successive handling. Nor can this normal condition of American coal be very well overcome by the precautionary and expensive measure of having it screened, as American coal is so tender in its nature that even though it were to leave the colliery as "hand-picked" its condition after shipment and discharge would only be equivalent to "through and through."

These facts, therefore, render it imperative that we should treat

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the comparative merits of Welsh and American coals only on the basis of both being "unscreened," on account of which a deduction of about 4 shillings ($1) per ton must be allowed off the high prices previously alluded to as having been paid for Welsh coal, such deduction being the actual difference between Cardiff quotations for large screened Welsh and "through and through," respectively.

The following analysis of three approximate quotations for the London market may serve to give some idea of the handicapped conditions under which American coal would be forced to compete:

	WELSH LARGE SCREENED.	WELSH THRO' AND THRO'.	AMERICAN STEAM.
Coal, f. o. b.....	28s. 6d. ($7.12½)	24s. 6d. ($6.12½)	12s. ($3.00)
Freight.....	5 0 ($1.25)	5 0 ($1.25)	19 ($4.75)
Quotation d. d. in Thames.....	33s. 6d. ($8.37½)	29s. 6d. ($7.37½)	31s. ($7.75)

From the above table of comparison it would seem to be obvious that no advantage in the matter of price can be obtained from American coal; and on reflecting that in the question of quality we cannot assume all American steam coals to be rivals to Welsh, we believe that the disparity between the prices of lower class American steams and those of our cheaper hard steams from the midlands and north of England and Scotland would be so overwhelmingly against American coal as to admit of no serious thoughts being entertained regarding possible competition (in second-class steam coals) emanating from America.

In first-class steam coal, however, we admit, as has been shown, that America certainly possesses a chance of competing at such periods as its quotations for coal and freight may rule low simultaneously with the English market ruling high; but the juxtaposition of prices would need to incline a shilling or two more toward the situation on both sides of the Atlantic than the figures given above. Even then, with the difference of price removed, we should not say that the chief difficulty had been overcome. The conservative nature of English steam users would very probably militate severely against American fuel finding a spontaneous and abundant market in London at all events.

If, therefore, this conservative disinclination to adopt a new fuel should prove to be an obstacle to steam users, who, being business men, would surely recognize any advantageous feature of the Amer-

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ican coal question, the difficulties in the way of introducing American coal to English householders, who are not likely to consider the subject from a business point of view, would be infinitely greater still. We feel disposed, therefore, to dismiss the idea of American household coal invading the English market as being purely visionary. Moreover, the present style of English grates and kitchen ranges has been designed for English coal, and no other kind of coal can be used in them. Coal of the anthracite class is chiefly used for house purposes in America, and this requires a special style of stove very different from the open grates so generally fitted in English homes. Thus, the substitution of American coal for English would involve extensive structural alterations which house owners could scarcely be expected to contemplate with equanimity.

It may be argued that as our calculations have been wholly based on the assumption that freights from America cannot be less than 19 shillings ($4.75), a reduction of this estimate would change our conclusions. I think not. Even if American coal owners were to build their own steamers with the intention of running them at, say, 10 shillings ($2.50) their difficulties would only be commencing. They would have to face the probability of bringing their boats home empty in ballast, seeing that the American tariff arrangements interfere with any volume of trade passing from east to west. It must also be kept in remembrance that the prices obtaining in the English market at the present time (October) are exceptionally high; the normal quotation for best Welsh steam coal being nearer 10 shillings ($2.50) than 15 shillings ($3.75), and for gas coal nearer 5 shillings ($1.25) than 10 shillings ($2.50), f. o. b. It would thus appear likely that any American coal imported into England during ordinary times would not repay the cost of working.

In the case of Continental ports American coal stands in a better position, as the difference in the rates of freight is not so great. For instance, taking Genoa as a typical port, large Welsh coal costs 25 shillings ($6.25), f. o. b., plus 11 shillings ($2.75) freight, totalling 36 shillings ($9) delivered; through and through Welsh, 21 shillings ($5.25), plus 11 shillings ($2.75) freight, or 32 shillings ($8), delivered; while American coal, costing $2.50, f. o. b., plus $5 freight, could be delivered at the lower figure of $7.50. This advantage tends to disappear as the competition advances farther north, where English freights are relatively lower; but it is nevertheless obvious that for Mediterranean ports and coaling stations there is a very fair

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chance for America competing, and competing successfully, *so long as present conditions last.*

It must not be forgotten, however, that English coal possesses such elasticity of conditions affecting price that it can fall some 10 to 15 shillings ($2.50 to $3.75) per ton before it reaches an unremunerative figure, and that on this account American competition must sooner or later break down. Supposing, too, that American coal is, ton for ton, fully equal to best Welsh, it will be necessary to convince consumers that such is the case; and so far the proselytizing of coal consumers to the cause of American coal has been a very difficult task indeed.

Summed up, the writer's conclusions are that there is little hope of American coal obtaining a footing in England, and that it can only secure a temporary tenure of some of the Continental markets. In these conclusions the writer has not allowed his connections with English coal markets and English sources of supply to give bias to his views, which are founded on careful analyses of figures and due consideration of reports from ship owners and others who have had opportunities of practically testing the respective merits of the coals of the two countries. The writer, indeed, feels almost inclined to express some sentiments of regret that his verdict is not more favorable to the land of the Stars and Stripes than it is, but he refrains from doing so because — there is no sentiment in business.

GEORGE L. LOCKET.

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THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN FRANCE.

THE Paris Exposition, marvellous in all its concrete detail, was still more marvellous for its revelations. It will stand eventually as the exponent of an idea, like the London Exposition of 1851, which showed England the industrial value of art training, or like the Chicago Exposition, which inspired us with confidence in our own esthetic ideals.

It was naturally supposed that France had little to fear from comparison with other nations on the industrial side; but recent events had made people skeptical as to the possibility of a favorable showing in regard to her political principles or policies. It is just here that the Exposition was a revelation: it gave the distinct impression of a national principle superior to the follies and errors of individuals. Especially was this the effect of the French educational exhibit, the most imposing exhibit of the kind ever displayed.

The system which it represented is an amazing work. It began in the hour of defeat; it was pushed with irresistible ardor; in a few years France was covered with free schools. A fund of $23,000,000 was created for school-houses alone;[1] normal schools multiplied, an army of school officers, vigilant and determined, enforced school attendance; appropriations for education annually increased; in fifteen years the public expenditure for primary schools rose from twelve to thirty-four million dollars.[2] The work did not stop at primary schools; higher education was opened to the humbler classes; it was a campaign against ignorance and caste, in the conviction that these were the enemies that had humiliated France.

Special efforts for the higher education of women were begun cautiously, and have attracted little attention in the world at large. No part of the general movement is, however, more important, and nothing was more significant than the results shown at Paris last sum-

[1] Law of June 1, 1878, authorizing 120,000,000 francs for this purpose, 60,000,000 to be given to the communes as subventions and 60,000,000 to be advanced in loans.

[2] It was 61,640,893 francs in 1870, and 170,604,872 francs in 1895.

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mer. The scholastic exhibits taken by themselves were, indeed, merely an index of the work, and scarcely intelligible excepting to one who sought their completion through the congresses and official publications. Moreover, the progress of the work cannot be fairly estimated as such progress is measured in this country, because of peculiar conditions, which have prevented its rapid growth and have imparted to it distinctive character. The movement for the higher education of women in France has not arisen as with us from the irresistible impulse of the women themselves, but from the instinct of self-preservation in a central government. To win the women to its support it was necessary first to conquer the prejudices of men, whose homage is necessary to the self-respect of French women. Hence, in this matter, social relations are a better measure of progress than the customary statistics.

The position of woman has undoubtedly changed, and the sentiment toward her has changed; and if these changes are as yet scarcely noticeable beyond the educational circle, it is because they arose there and are extending, as it were, unconsciously. Women were appointed this summer on the jury of awards; they participated freely in the congresses; they banqueted with their colleagues. There was no restraint on either side; no affectation on the part of the women, no mawkish sentiment on the part of the men. There was just that cordial fraternizing that Americans love, with a mellow touch of old-world courtesy. On the juries the judgment of the women weighed the same as that of the men; in the congresses of education they were as ready in debate; and their formal papers showed a grasp of subjects which commanded attention and led to fruitful discussion. At the general banquet of all the educational juries, comprising eighty-three men and six women, the latter were ably represented in the toasts by Mlle. Dugard, a well-known writer and professor. She expressed in a felicitous manner the spirit which the new education of woman fosters, the spirit of loyalty to the government and of international courtesy — that courtesy which is itself one of the inestimable outcomes of higher education.

This cordial recognition of women, this free interchange of ideas on a matter of public interest, is far removed from the traditional notion of woman which pervades French literature and has given a peculiar tone to French society. It indicates even in the University circle a great change since the congresses of 1889. On this point I cannot speak from personal observation; but it struck foreign dele-

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gates who had the advantage of having assisted also at the earlier conferences. Is this change a mere surface ripple? The answer is not doubtful. The change has come without violence to the inward spirit of the people, and it accords with a great world movement.

The efforts of the French Republic in this matter began with the training of teachers for the public primary schools. As soon as the new government felt itself secure, it passed a law placing the training of women teachers on the same footing as that of men. This was in 1879. The age for admission to these schools (16–18), the subjects, and more particularly the method of instruction, a method which puts the mind upon reflection and comparison, justify the classification of these schools as higher. They are not classical, modern languages and science forming their programmes; but in this respect they differ little from the non-classical courses in our high schools and colleges, in which German or French is accepted as an equivalent for Latin. Moreover, the training in these normal schools is above all things ethical, because it is of first importance that the future teachers of the people should have the habit of considering all knowledge, even the most elementary, in its relation to the conduct of life and to public duty. This was in the past, and still remains, a very important part also of our notion of the functions of higher education.

For the service of the primary schools, in which about 80,000 women are employed, France now has over 8,000 who have been through the complete course of these normal schools and have passed the rigid examination entitling them to the superior diploma. The rapid increase in the number of these full graduates is a significant sign of the success of the Government policy. In 1882 they numbered all told 503, five years later 2,603, and in 1897 they had reached a total of 8,445. To understand the care which the state has lavished upon this experiment it is only necessary to visit the school at Fontenay-aux-Roses, where professors are formed for the normal schools for elementary teachers. There, on a beautiful site far enough from Paris to avoid the distractions of the city and near enough to secure the services of a high order of professors, the Government has developed its ideal of a highly specialized training school for the teachers of teachers. It is really a post-graduate institution, open only to women who have already obtained either the superior diploma of pedagogy or a bachelor's degree.

The entire equipment of the school, the spacious building and quiet courts, the ample class rooms, laboratories, library, gymna-

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sium, and studios, all give the sense of liberal provision. On the domestic side, for it is a boarding-school, there is an air of dignity which conduces to the finest type of womanly character. To appreciate the sincerity and force of the scholastic work it is only necessary to recall some of the chief professors whose names have had a place on its rolls: Dupuy, Rabier, Marion, all known in the world of letters, and, above all, M. Pécaut, who from the first presided over the professional studies. This man, whose lucid mind and exalted character placed him among the master teachers of the age, was brought into world-wide prominence by the Dreyfus affair. Convinced from the first that the trial was a travesty of justice, he resigned from the public service that he might, without embarrassment to the Government, raise his voice in warning. The last energies of his life were spent in the effort to excite in his country the sense of moral honor. In the school which he so much loved, his name is spoken with fond reverence, and his memory is cherished as an inspiration to the highest conception of public duty.

Such have been the efforts and such the influences which the Republic has directed to the training of a large and ever-increasing body of its teachers. At first, however, it was working in a very limited circle. In the early days of this great movement it was made a reproach to the Government that the young women in the normal schools were drawn from the humblest families, that they were "daughters," as one wrote, "of peasants, of small merchants, laborers, and small farmers." The cause is easily understood. The people who had neither prestige nor privilege under the old régime were naturally the first to catch at the chance for both. Even the opposition of the Church, to which the majority were devoutly attached, could not prevent parents from seeking the worldly advantage of their children. Thus, one of the most powerful instincts of human nature was enlisted by the Republic in what was felt to be its struggle for existence. Said Jules Ferry in 1879, in a speech on the projected law requiring all teachers to have a state diploma: "We find ourselves face to face with a power which intends nothing less than placing over against, and above, the right of the state and of civil society a sort of inviolable religious society which recognizes neither the law nor the right of the state." In this aggressive spirit the Republic worked throughout its first decade; but in dealing with women its method was wisely and cautiously persuasive.

So far the movement considered had reached only women of the

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humbler classes more accustomed to serve and follow than to lead. It was necessary that it should be extended to the superior classes; and it is in respect to these that the provision for the higher education of women in France assumed its distinctive character.

In the educational exhibits at Paris no contrast was more striking than that between the colleges for women in our country and those of France. Save for some special statistics and an album showing composite photographs of college women, the former differed little from the exhibits of colleges for men. Not so with France. Here has been achieved what is often discussed on this side of the Atlantic, namely, a type of liberal education essentially feminine. In the *lycées* or classical colleges for men the three characteristic studies are Latin, philosophy, and mathematics. The first two are wanting in the programmes for young women, and the last is present in a very simplified form. German and English take the place of Latin; and for philosophy there is an ethical course sometimes falsely named philosophy because of authoritative reference to certain philosophical writings. The laboratory facilities of the schools are generally excellent, better than in many of the older classical colleges for men. They are used, however, mainly by the teachers for illustration. Domestic economy and hygiene are made very prominent, as especially related to woman's sphere. Drawing, which is never omitted from French programmes below the specialized university courses, is, in the women's *lycées*, connected on the decorative side with the needlework. The practical results, in the form of original designs for costumes, laces, and embroideries, were displayed in the exhibits, and formed to the American eye a very novel feature of college education.

The question naturally arises, What is there in this training that answers to our ideal of higher education, what is there that disciplines the intellect, develops the judgment, and incites the mind to free initiative? It must be admitted that these qualities are not so highly prized in France as in our own country. Even men in France are moved more by sentiment than by reason. The *lycées* for women have, however, a disciplinary training in the courses of modern languages and literature and the closely allied courses in history. It is difficult for us to understand the full effect of these studies, conducted as they are in a serious and critical spirit. It is our contention that the particular value of the classics lies in their power of disengaging the mind from its surroundings and customary viewpoints and exercising it upon a great body of unfamiliar but profound ideas.

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It has never perhaps occurred to us that a people like the French, formed so largely as to their institutions and their modes of thinking by Latin influences, may find just that advantage in the mastery of the language of Shakespeare and of Goethe and the intensive study of their works.

The French woman who has finished the *lycée* and passed the examination for the full diploma of letters has mastered two foreign languages. But she has done something far more important than this; she has learned to view the problems of life from a standpoint radically different from that of her own nation. She enters into the deeper moral consciousness of the Saxon, of whom Taine said, in a contrasting analysis of the Norman and the Saxon:

> "But this spirit, void of the sentiment of the beautiful, is all the more apt for the sentiment of the true. Human and moral instincts have gained the empire over him. . . . Here are the foundations and the elements of a civilization, slower but sounder, less careful of what is agreeable and elegant, more based on justice and truth."

The law creating these higher institutions for women was passed in 1880. It was well understood at the time that the measure was not purely educational in its aim, but rather one of a series of efforts by which the state sought to break up the Church monopoly of the interest. Under the circumstances, a radical change in the scheme of women's education was not to be expected. I am assured, however, by the author of the law himself, M. Camille Sée, that as regards curriculum the measure was neither a compromise nor an expedient, but the embodiment of an ideal. This ideal he still advocates, and with added enthusiasm, inspired by its practical results.

The details of the long contest over the law interest us only as showing the spirit in which the Government pursued its purpose. Two points will suffice for illustration. Following the course which had proved effective in the Church system, it was proposed that the *lycées* for girls should be boarding schools. Twice the law appeared to be wrecked on this proposition. But new forces were added by an adroit appeal to the small towns which could not maintain a *lycée* without the patronage of the rural gentry; and with their coöperation a compromise proposition was carried making the boarding department (*internat*) optional with local authorities. As a consequence, the *lycées* of Paris, Lyons, and other large cities have day students only. The loss of influence in this direction has been compensated to the state measurably through its system of scholarships. These, awarded

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upon a rigid competitive examination, give the holders a pecuniary interest in their own education, and secure an élite band of students bound to the state by a deep sense of its paternal care. Local authorities have followed the example of the state in this matter; and there are at present, on a total of 11,994 students, 863 holders of scholarships. Of these 358 are national.

A second matter on which the debate waxed hot was that of moral and religious instruction. Here the state did not waver. Moral instruction was separated from religious, and made an important feature. But, while excluding religion from the programmes, the Government that had secularized primary schools showed in respect to the higher institutions for women the most scrupulous regard for the rights of conscience. The Chamber of Deputies voted that religious instruction should be given to boarding pupils, outside the class hours, and upon the request of parents, by the ministers of their respective denominations. This provision the Senate extended to day students also.

The year following the passage of this law, that is, in 1881, the work was crowned by the creation of a normal school to prepare women professors for the new establishments. Installed at Sèvres, on the beautiful site and in the spacious building erected originally for the porcelain works, the school may be regarded both by reason of the severity of its studies and the quality of its professors as an annex of the Paris University. In the roll of its *personnel* since its foundation are found such names as Darmesteter for letters, Joly for psychology, Poincairé for physics. The entire corps, men and women, the latter forming a small minority, are university graduates, which term, it should be explained, implies a diploma above the bachelor's degree. As in all French boarding-schools, there is complete separation of the scholastic and domestic departments, save that both are under one direction.

The presiding genius of the institution is Mme. Marion, widow of the distinguished author and professor. Her husband held the chair of pedagogy at the Sorbonne from its creation, in 1887, to his death, ten years later. From this chair there went out an influence that has affected thousands of French teachers. "I cannot tell you how much we loved him," said one of his students. "We all loved him." This was a universal testimony. His teachings were as inspiring as his character. On one side, he directed his students to the careful observation of nature and of social facts as the basis of a true psychology; on the other, he emphasized before them the idea of

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freedom. "Our species," he says in the conclusion of his work on "The Moral Solidarity," "is not necessarily destined to happiness or misery. It is what it makes of itself, and will have the lot it merits." Exact method, idealistic ends, these were the themes constantly recurring in his lessons and consistently illustrated in his work. He was an ardent advocate of the higher education of women, and readily accepted the task of delivering his lectures before the students of both Fontenay-aux-Roses and Sèvres. Mme. Marion entered into his views and became, as it were, the inheritor of his spirit. Possessed of a gracious presence and of active sympathies she stands before the students under her charge as a noble type of the women who are destined to bear a part in a great public mission.

Two decades have elapsed since the passage of the law providing for the higher education of women under the auspices of the state. For this jubilee year of the Republic, M. Sée has prepared an exhaustive review of the movement with which his name will be forever associated. The new establishments, he explains, are classified as *lycées* and colleges. It was the original purpose to have a *lycée* in the chief city of each of the 90 departments of France, the initial cost to be borne by the city, and the annual expenditure by the state. The colleges were to be established in smaller towns upon local initiative and with aid from the state, according to circumstances. As to the actual outcome M. Sée reports that, while before 1880 there were no institutions of this kind in France, in 1900 there are the following: The school for professors at Sèvres, 37 *lycées*, 3 provisional *lycées*, 26 colleges, 2 provisional colleges, and a *lycée* in the protectorate of Tunis.

The financial statement shows that for the capital expenditure on sites and buildings the state advanced from 1881 to 1898 the sum of 33,409,437 francs. The total receipts of the institutions, exclusive of the boarding departments, amounted in 1898 to 3,764,354 francs. Of this sum 27 per cent came from tuition fees, 70 per cent from the state, and the balance from local authorities.

It has been found necessary to establish preparatory departments in the majority of these institutions. Omitting this elementary stage, it appears that in 1882 they comprised 784 students, 4,241 in 1891, and 7,003 in 1899. The full course of study occupies five years, to which a sixth year may be added, intended particularly for students who desire to enter the Superior Normal School at Sèvres. In 1899 of the total students enrolled 388 were in the sixth year. This num-

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ber represents fairly the proportion of students in any year who expect to make teaching a profession. A large part, probably the majority of the students, are from the families of the wealthy bourgeois, who are rapidly coming into control of public affairs, and whose daughters are educated with a view to domestic and social life.

The teaching force of these *lycées* and colleges in 1899 comprised 647 professors and assistants. If the staff seems excessively large as compared with the number of students, we must remember that French custom calls for a great amount of individual tutoring and supervision. I may add from personal observation that the principle of subdivision in labor is admirably maintained. Every one of these teachers is a trained specialist; but the unity of the whole work is preserved through the Directrice and her immediate assistant, the supervisor of the programmes. This policy may not be favorable to that free, sympathetic coöperation which develops in our own college faculties; but it does impart to each establishment an impressive appearance of order and repose.

Thus far I have considered the movement for the higher education of women in France wholly in the light of its relation to the Republic and to republican policies. In all essential particulars it is a creation of the Republic, and yet it has historic relation to the movement that swept over our own country between 1860 and 1870 and affected England deeply in the closing years of that period. It was in 1867 that the Bishop of Orleans made an open protest against the prevailing system of woman's education in France. "The education of women," he wrote, "is meagre, frivolous, and superficial, when it is not false." "It was limited," said Camille Sée, interpreting the protest according to his clearer light, "to elementary branches, and," he adds with undisguised irony, "the art of being agreeable." The impulse to reform did not exhaust itself in protests. The same year in which these utterances appeared university courses for women, as they were called, but to speak more exactly, courses by university professors, were created by M. Duruy, then minister of education. The prestige of his name drew patronage, and for a while the "courses" flourished. They continue in a modified form even to the present day, but their chief value lies in the fact that they prepared the way for the later and more substantial work. Omitting this somewhat desultory instruction that draws about 3,000 hearers annually, it appears that in 1897 there were 9,000 young women pursuing these studies in the institutions of collegiate grade.

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The universities of France have not been considered in this survey. Nominally, these institutions which admit only graduates to their highly specialized training have been long open to women. From time to time a few foreign women entered, and occasionally a French woman. Suddenly the number of the latter became noticeable: in 1892 there were 258, to-day there are 579. The progress is remarkable: nearly 600 French women of approved capacity are pursuing graduate studies in universities noted for their high requirements. We count but 1,400 in our own country!

This movement is no surface ripple. Ten thousand young women moulded annually into the new life, brought under rational discipline, accustomed to the discussion of the grandest themes of human thought, made to realize their own moral freedom and responsibility, what influences, what transforming power, must flow from them! Already the effect is seen beyond the pale of the state schools. Girls from parochial schools are seeking state diplomas, and the Catholic seminaries for girls vied with each other in their exhibits in showing that their instruction had worthier elements than the "art of being agreeable."

Frenchmen are sometimes represented as having sentimental feelings only toward women. The view is superficial. Nowhere is the influence of mothers greater, nowhere is more chivalrous respect professed for women. It is woman's mission to inspire in man the conceptions of honor and of glory. Change the ideals of women in any nation and you re-create those of men. A deep insight into the causes of social conditions inspired the Republic to provide higher education for women founded in reason and in the sense of personal responsibility.

ANNA TOLMAN SMITH.

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